

THE MIKIRS

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE

EDWARD STACK

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

SOMETIME DIRECTOR OF LAND RECORDS AND AGRICULTURE, AND
SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, ASSAM

EDITED, ARRANGED AND SUPPLEMENTED

BY

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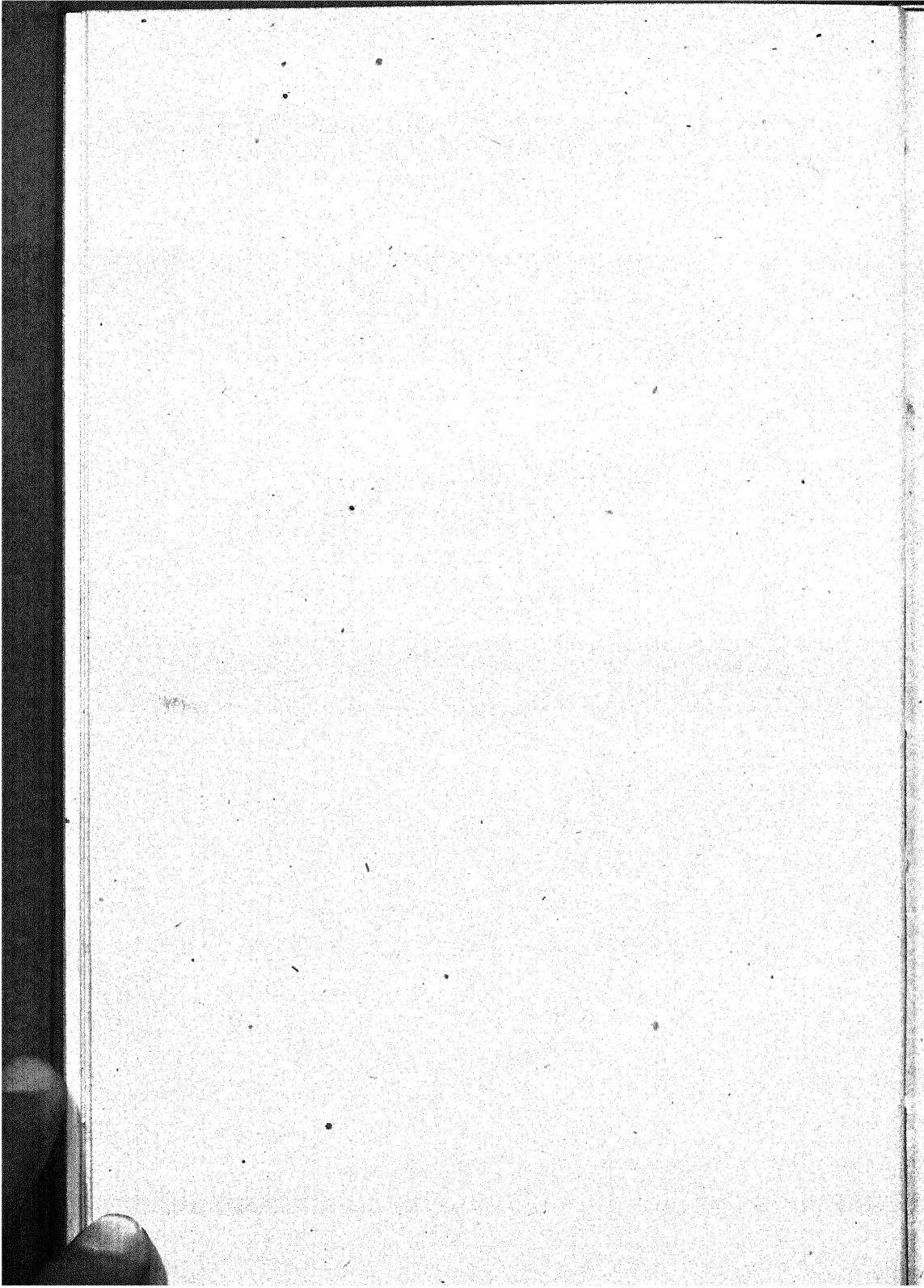
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To

M. R. L. - J.

In Memoriam



INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN 1882 Edward Stack, appointed the first Director of the newly-created Department of Land Records and Agriculture in Assam, entered upon his duties in that province, and applied himself with ardour to the study of its people. He had passed just ten years in the Indian Civil Service, which he joined in 1872 at the head of his year. These ten years had been fruitful in varied interest and activity: the strenuous life of a District and Settlement officer in the North-Western Provinces; secretariat employment in his own province and the Government of India; and, just before his translation to Assam, six months spent in travel in Persia.* Activity of mind and body, and keen interest in the people and speech of all the countries he lived in, were his strongest characteristics. During the cold season of 1882-83 he spent several months in moving up and down the Brahmaputra Valley, learning, observing, and noting. He acquired a working knowledge of Assamese with surprising rapidity; with this as his foundation and instrument, he attacked the multitude of tribal languages which he found impinging on the Aryan pale. To him, more than to any one else, is due the honourable distinction of the Assam

* The record of these travels, under the name *Six Months in Persia* (two vols.), was published in 1882; "A really clever and trustworthy, readable, book," was the judgment on it of the late Sir Frederic Goldsmid—the best of all judges.

Province in the grammars, vocabularies, and phrase-books of nearly all the most important of its multitudinous varieties of Indo-Chinese speech, which have been drawn up by officers and others who have served there. In 1883 the Report on the Census of 1881 in Assam was published ; and in this Report, mainly the work of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Elliott, the chapter on Castes and Tribes was written by Edward Stack. Paragraphs 131-136 deal with the Mikirs, and much in these represents the result of his careful personal inquiries among them. His interest in this tribe gradually grew. In 1884 he was called to take up the work of Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, and while thus employed he occupied his leisure in studying Mikir. He became acquainted with a bright young Mikir lad, a convert of the American Baptist Mission at Nowgong, named Sardoka, to which he was accustomed to add the names of his sponsor at baptism, Perrin Kay. With the help of Mr. Neighbor's *Vocabulary of English and Mikir, with illustrative sentences*,* Stack and Sardoka worked together at the language, correcting and largely supplementing the material contained in their text-book. From this they went on to folk-tales, which were written down, with a careful attention to systematic orthography, by Stack from Sardoka's dictation, each day's work being provided with a series of notes elucidating every difficulty in it. Thus material gathered ; and in the course of 1886 Stack had arranged, when relieved at the end of that year of the duties of Secretary by my return to Assam, to put together a complete account of the

* See Bibliography, No. 7.

Mikirs and their language, fully illustrated (as his wont was) by ample variety of phrase and idiom, and a collection of stories in Mikir with commentary and vocabulary. But during the latter half of 1886 his health failed. Partly the moist climate of Assam, and partly, perhaps, unsuspected flaws of constitution, told upon his strong and active frame ; and, after some months of gradually increasing weakness, he died at sea on the 12th January, 1887, aged 37, just before the vessel reached Adelaide, in South Australia, where he had planned to spend his furlough.

A few months after his death his papers were sent to me at Shillong, and for some time I hoped, with Sardoka's help, to be able to carry out his purpose. But the steadily increasing pressure of other duties prevented this. I left Shillong on a long tour in November, 1887, and soon after my return in the spring of 1888 I was transferred to the post Commissioner in the Assam Valley, eventually leaving the province in the autumn of 1889 for engrossing work elsewhere, never to return, except for a brief space as Chief Commissioner in 1894. It had become evident from an examination of the materials that to do what Stack had set before him involved much more labour than I could give. It was necessary to learn the language from the beginning, to construct grammar and dictionary, and to retrace the steps which he had trodden in his progress ; and this with an aptitude and power of acquisition far inferior to his. Accordingly, on my departure from Assam, the papers were made over to others, with whom they remained until, on the organization under Dr. G. A. Grierson of the *Linguistic Survey* of Northern India, they were again inquired

for, and utilized, so far as the scope of that work admitted, in preparing an account of the Mikir language for insertion in the Survey.*

In 1904, when Sir Bampfylde Fuller had obtained the sanction of the Government of India to his scheme for the preparation of a series of descriptive monographs on the more important tribes and castes of Assam, he proposed to me to undertake an account of the Mikirs, based on Stack's materials. There were several reasons why I hesitated to accept the task. It was many years since I had left the province, and official work and other studies claimed time and leisure. The materials were themselves in the rough—mere notes and jottings, sufficient for the man who carried the main part of his knowledge in his head, but by no means easy to interpret or set in order for one who had no such knowledge. They dated, too, from twenty years back, and in the interval great changes had occurred in the material development of the tract where the Mikirs live, which is now traversed by the Assam-Bengal Railway. I decided, nevertheless, to make the attempt, and, however imperfectly, to do something to perpetuate the work of a man to whom I was most intimately bound by affection, and whose great powers and attractive personality were the admiration and delight of all who knew him. The present volume is the result.

In addition to Stack's notes, I received from Assam three sets of replies to ethnographical questions which had been circulated to persons acquainted with the

* See Bibliography, No. 15.

tribe. These were from Mr. W. C. M. Dundas, Sub-divisional Officer of North Cachar, and the Rev. P. E. Moore and Mr. Allen of the American Baptist Mission.* These replies, which were not very detailed, while quite independent in origin, agreed closely with Stack's data, and showed that the lapse of years had not made the latter inapplicable to the present time. In the following pages any information drawn from these sources has been duly acknowledged.

It was explained in the Introduction to Major Gurdon's Monograph on the Khasis (1907) that the order and arrangement of subjects to be treated in dealing with each tribe had been prescribed by authority ; and Stack's notes had to be brought within this framework. As will be seen, under certain heads not much information is forthcoming ; and perhaps the more searching standard of inquiry applied by ethnologists in the present day might demand more exhaustive treatment of some points in this presentment of the Mikir people. This, however, must be left for our successors.

Section I has been expanded by adding numerical data from the last Census (1901), and measurements from Lieut.-Colonel L. A. Waddell's *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley* (1900). Section II (Domestic Life) is entirely due to Stack. The same is the case with Section III (Laws and Customs), except the Appendix. Section IV (Religion) is wholly Stack's ; reading the careful and minute account which it contains of the funeral ceremonies, one is strongly

* I must apologize for the misdescription of these gentlemen at pp. 44 and 70, as of the American Presbyterian Mission.

impressed by the thoroughness which he brought to his investigations. Section V (Folk-lore) contains translations of three of the folk-tales written down in Mikir by Stack, of which the original text, with an inter-linear rendering, is given in Section VI. These translations, in both Sections, have been made by me. Stack's manuscript supplied the Mikir text, which has been faithfully copied, and a number of explanatory notes, but no connected rendering. I have therefore had to depend upon my study of the language in the linguistic materials collected by him, and those contained in Mr. Neighbor's vocabulary and Sardoka's dictionary and phrase-book. I had hoped to have the assistance of Sardoka himself in revising the translations. He served for many years in the Assam Secretariat after Stack's death, and helped in the preparation of the specimens of Mikir for the *Linguistic Survey* in 1902; but in September, 1904, he was transferred as *mauzadar*, or Revenue collector and administrator, to the important *mauza* or territorial division in the Mikir Hills called Duar Baguri, now divided between the districts of Nowgong and Sibsagar; and on the 8th March, 1905, he most unhappily died there of cholera. Other help was not forthcoming. I must, therefore, ask for the indulgence of those better acquainted than I with Mikir in regard to these renderings. Probably they contain many errors of detail; but at least they seem to hang together as a whole, and to be consistent with what I could ascertain elsewhere of the fashion of Mikir speech. The notes are chiefly from Stack. The sketch of the Grammar in Section VI is reproduced (in a somewhat abridged form) from that which I contributed to the *Linguistic Survey*. Stack himself

had drawn up no grammar, though he had put together much illustrative material from which the mechanism of the language could be deduced. The main facts are clear and comparatively simple, though there are not a few idiomatic expressions in the texts of which it is difficult to give a satisfactory account.

For the last Section, that dealing with the probable affinities of the Mikir race, I must take full responsibility. It is the result of the collation and comparison of materials from many sources, and especially those contained in the three volumes of the *Linguistic Survey* treating of the Tibeto-Burman family of speech. The authorities on which I have relied are indicated in the text.

In the Bibliography I have entered only those works (so far as known to me) which contribute something to our knowledge of the Mikirs. I have not thought it necessary to specify mere casual allusions to the tribe, or to quote imperfect lists of words which have been superseded by more accurate material.

For the coloured illustrations I have to thank Miss Eirene Scott-O'Connor (now Mrs. Philip Rogers), and for the photographs Major Gurdon and Mr. W. C. M. Dundas ; the reproductions are by Messrs. W. Griggs and Sons. The map (by Mr. J. G. Bartholomew) showing the localities inhabited by the Mikirs is taken from the new volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. An explanation of the system adopted for rendering Mikir words will be found on p. 74.

April, 1908.

C. J. LYALL.

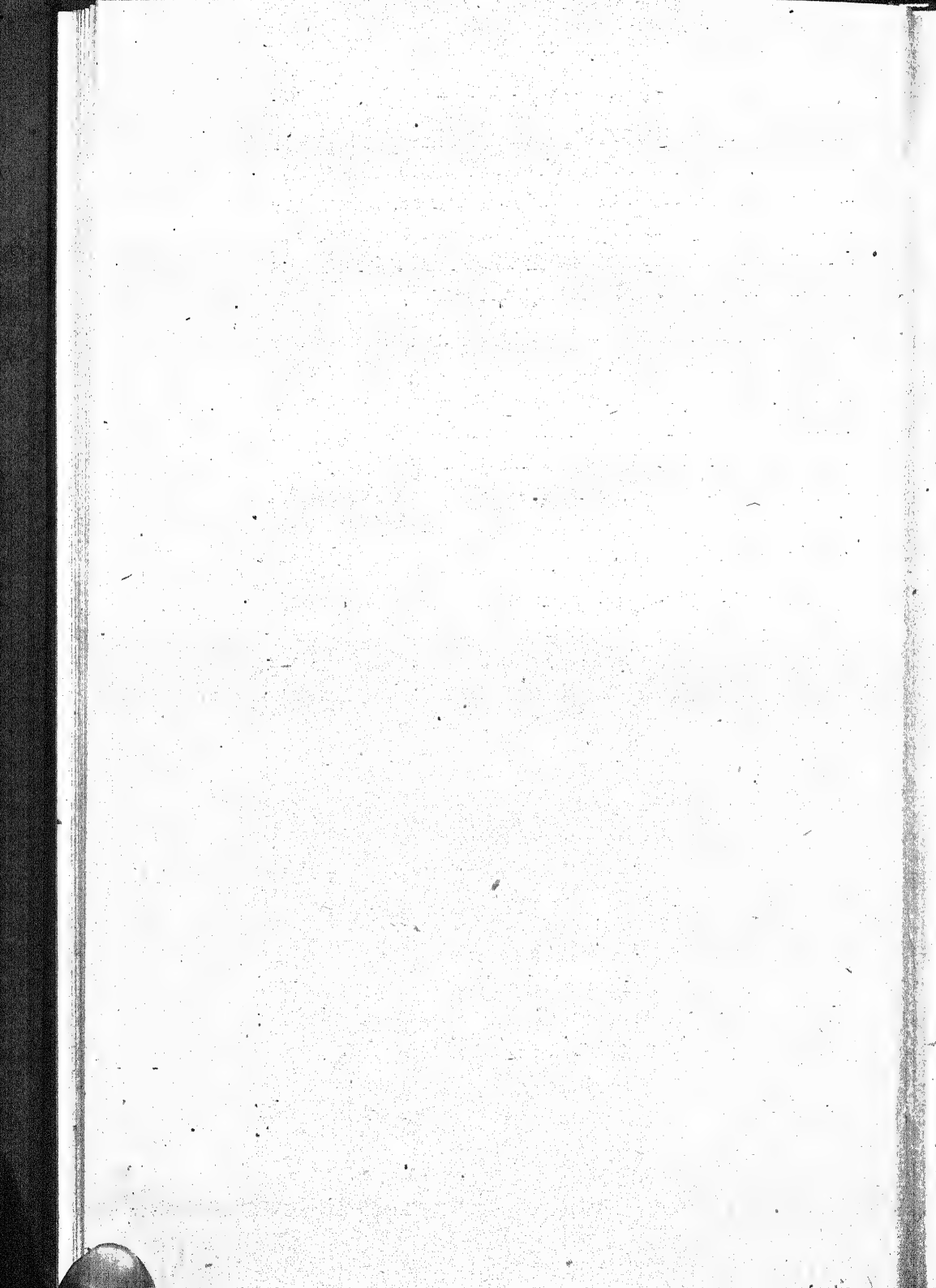


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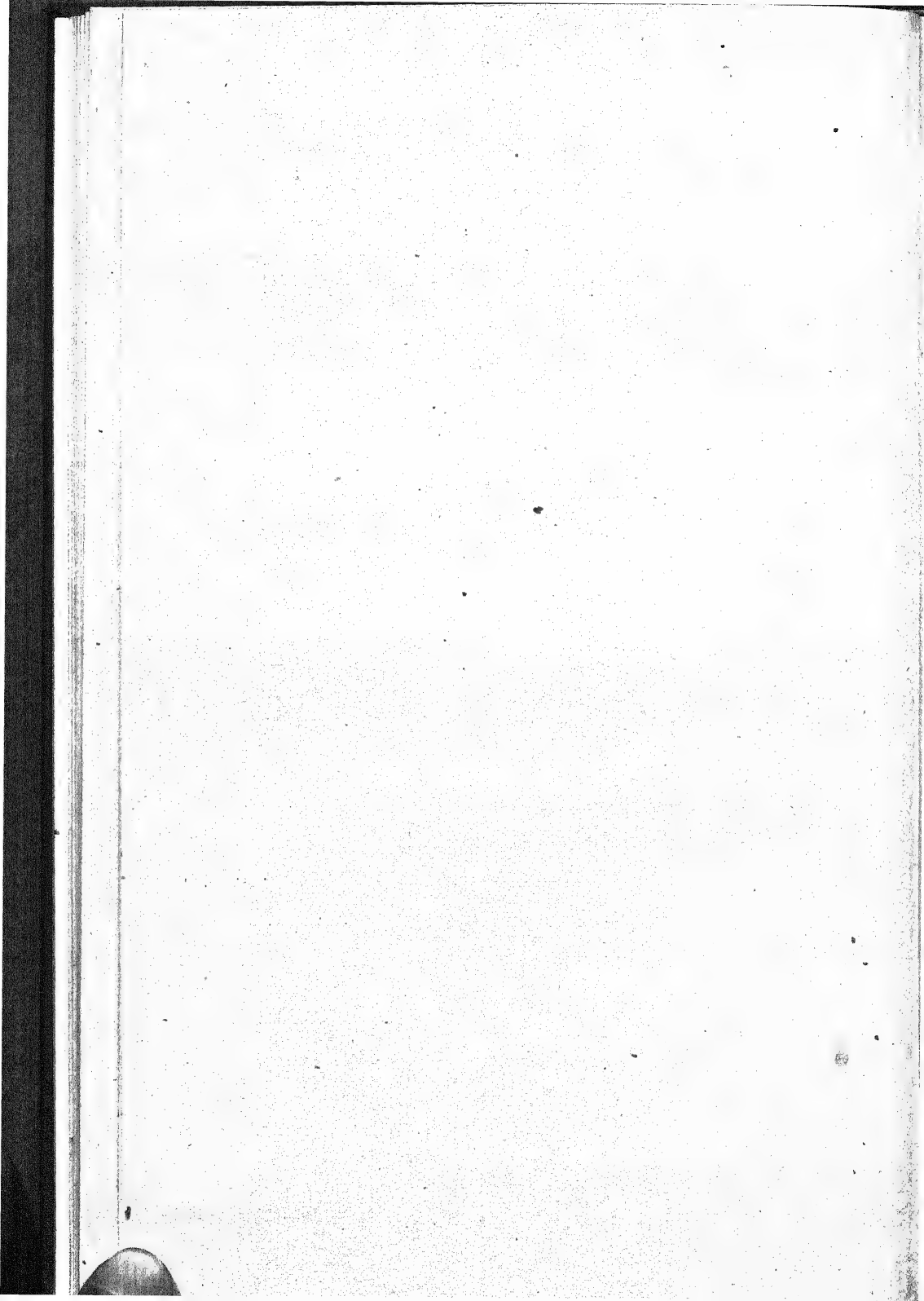
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THE MIKIRS

I.

GENERAL.

Numbers—Habitat—Physical appearance—Traditions as to origin—Affinities—Dress—Tattooing—Ornaments—Weapons.

THE Mikirs are one of the most numerous and homogeneous of the many Tibeto-Burman races inhabiting the Province of Assam. In the tables of the Report on the Census of 1901 the number of Mikirs by race is given as 87,046, and that of speakers of the Mikir language as 82,283 ; but there are curious discrepancies in the details. In no district are the speakers of Mikir identical in number with those returned as Mikir by race ; and it is remarkable that in several, more persons are returned as speaking the language than as belonging to the tribe. On the other hand, in the North Cachar Hills none of the 1446 Mikirs by race are shown as speaking Mikir, which is manifestly absurd. The following are the figures:—

District.		Mikirs by race. Speaking Mikir.	
Cachar Plains	...	717	728
Sylhet	...	156	166
Kamrup	...	10,587	8,026
Darrang	...	2,646	3,108
Nowgong	...	35,732	34,273
Sibsagar	...	22,909	22,803
North Cachar	...	1,446	nil.
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	...	12,840	13,142
Elsewhere	...	13	37
Total	...	87,046	82,283

In Kamrup, Nowgong, and Sibsaagar it may reasonably be assumed that the Mikirs returned as speaking some other language (probably Assamese) also spoke the speech of their

tribe, being bilingual like other non-Aryan races in Assam; and the 809 persons in Darrang, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and elsewhere, returned as speaking Mikir, though not as Mikirs by race, must really have belonged to the tribe. Since 1891, when the number of Mikirs was returned as 94,829, there has been a considerable falling-off, due to the terrible ravages of the disease called *Kala-azar** in the Nowgong and Kamrup districts.

The Mikirs inhabit in greatest strength the hills called after them, the isolated mountainous block which fills the triangle between the Brahmaputra on the north, the Dhansiri valley on the east, and the Kopili and Jamuna valleys on the west and south; this tract is now divided between the Nowgong and Sibsagar districts. They are also found in considerable numbers on the northern skirts of the Assam Range, in Nowgong, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and Kamrup, and were once numerous, as testified by the local place-and river-names, in North Cachar. They have settled in the plains, and taken to plough cultivation, in Nowgong and Kamrup, and have also established recent settlements of the same kind north of the Brahmaputra in Darrang. The great bulk, however, remain a hill tribe, occupying the forest-clad northern slopes of the central range of Assam, and practising the primitive method of cultivation by axe, fire, and hoe.

In the Mikir Hills there are summits which attain 4,000 feet, but the greater part of the block is of much lower elevation. The rock is chiefly gneiss and granite, with few traces of overlying formations; and the whole is clothed with forest growth, chiefly of bamboo, figs of different species, cinnamon, *Artocarpus*, *nahor* (*Mesua ferrea*), and a few other trees valuable for their timber. The soil is light, and soon exhausted by cropping; it is naturally most fertile in the valleys, where the deepest deposits are found. The Mikir Hills, in 1886 when Mr. Stack wrote, had been very little explored by Europeans, and their interior was almost unknown. To the north, from Koliabor to Kaziranga, they abut on the Brahmaputra, only a narrow strip of country, traversed by the southern Grand Trunk road,

* This is the official spelling. The real name is *Kala-jwar*, pronounced *Kola-jor* (or *zor*), which means "black fever."

intervening between them and the river. This strip has few inhabitants and little cultivation, and is covered with high grass and cotton tree (*semal*) jungle, the haunt of wild buffalo and rhinoceros. To the east is the great Nambor forest, a dense area of high trees occupying the Dhansiri valley from Dimapur to within ten miles of Golaghat. To the south-west is the valley of the Jamuna, now traversed by the railway from Gauhati to Lumding, a region of tall grass and sparse tree jungle. The plain which is formed by the alluvial valley of the Kopili (or Kupli) river and its affluents, the Jamuna and the Diyaung (the latter coming from the North Cachar Hills), next intervenes; and to the west the land rises again in the northern skirts of the Jaintia and Khasi Hills. Here the country is of the same character as in the Mikir Hills, but better known. It consists of a series of plateaus or shelves rising from the level of the valley, composed of gneiss and granite, and covered with a red clay soil, the result of the decomposition of the metamorphic sandstones which overlay the igneous rock. The jungle here also is chiefly of bamboo, with a few patches of valuable forest, chiefly *sal* (*Shorea robusta*), still surviving; but most of the larger timber has been destroyed by the secular practice of axe and fire cultivation.

It is in this hilly country, and in the plains at its base, that the Mikir people are found. The region is continuous, and is distributed, as the figures just given show, between the districts (from east to west) of Sibsagar, Nowgong, North Cachar, the Jaintia and Khasi Hills, and Kamrup. It is malarious and unhealthy for unacclimatized persons, with a very moist climate, and is wanting in the breezy amenities of the higher plateaus of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills; but (save during the recent prevalence of *Kala-azar*) the inhabitants appear to have acquired some degree of immunity against the noxious influences of the locality. Side by side with the Mikirs dwell, in the Mikir Hills, the Rengma Nagas (who are recent immigrants from the eastern side of the Dhansiri); in the Jamuna and Diyaung valleys, the Dimasa or Kacharis; in the Jaintia Hills, the Kukis and Syntengs; and in the Khasi Hills and along the Nowgong and Kamrup borders, the Lalungs and a few settlements of Khasis.

The name *Mikir* is that given to the race by the Assamese: its origin is unknown. They call themselves *Arleng*, which means *man* in general.* In features the men resemble Assamese of the lower classes more than most of the Tibeto-Burman races. Their colour is light yellowish brown, and the girls are often fair. The men are as tall as the majority of the hill races of Assam, Colonel L. A. Waddell's eighteen specimens averaging 1633 millimetres, or 5.354 feet, in height, the tallest being 5.583 feet, and the shortest 5.108. The average is noticeably higher than that of their neighbours the Khasis. [The average head measurements in these specimens were—length, 181 millimetres; breadth, 141; cephalic index, 77.9. The nose is broad at the base, and often flat, giving a nasal index of 85.1, and an orbito-nasal of 107.7. The facial hair is scanty, and only a thin moustache is worn. The front of the head is sometimes, but not generally, shorn. The hair is gathered into a knot behind, which hangs over the nape of the neck. The body is muscular, and the men are capable of prolonged exertion. In frontier expeditions in Assam they have frequently served (like the Khasis) as porters, and carry heavy loads, the burden being borne upon the back and secured by a plaited bamboo (or cane) strap passing round the forehead (*Mikir*, *sinam*).

The traditions of the race point to the Eastern portion of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, bordering on the Kopili (or Kupli) river (where many still remain), as their original abode. They speak of this as *Nihang*, in contradistinction to *Nilip*, the Duar Baguri or Nowgong region which they now inhabit.

* It has been asserted that *Arleng* means properly only a *Mikir man*, not a man in general, who would be called *monit* or *munit*. This, however, is opposed to usage as exemplified in the folk-tales collected by Mr. Stack, and to well-established parallels found elsewhere. Thus, in Assam, *Mande* (=man) is the national name of the Garos; *Chingpho* (=man) is the tribal name of the race so called in the Upper Dehing valley; *Boro* (=man) is the proper designation of the Kachari race. So, in Chutia Nagpur, the Munda people of Ranchi call themselves *Horo* (=man). Similar cases are found all over the world. In Europe, for example, the name *Deutsch* for the Germanic race indicates that their ancestors spoke of themselves as "the people" (*dioi*, *dioia*), ignoring the other members of humankind. *Munit* is a very recent loan-word from Assamese, and nowhere occurs in the tales.

Being harassed by warfare between Khasi (or Synteng) chiefs, they resolved to move into Ahom territory, and sent emissaries to claim protection from the Ahom governor of Raha (Nowgong District). These unfortunate persons, being unable to make themselves understood, were straightway buried alive in the embankment of a tank which the governor was excavating. The hostilities which ensued were concluded by an embassy to the king himself in Sibsagar, and the Mikirs have ever since been living peacefully in the territory assigned to them. They have dim traditions of a king of their own in the good old days, whom they call *Sot Recho*, and are said by Mr. Stack to expect his return to earth. His seat is said to have been in *Rong-khang* (or *Rong-hang*), perhaps connected with *Ni-hang* (*Rong*, village). They had fights with the Dimasa or Hill Kacharis, and were led by Thong Nokbe and other captains, who established a fort at Diyaung-mukh (the junction of the Diyaung and Kopili rivers), the ruins of which are still to be seen. Along the northern skirts of the Mikir Hills there are remains of old brick buildings and sculptures, which are now ascribed to the Gods. Old men tell historical legends to the young ones, and there are also legendary songs, sung at festivals; but there is no class specially set apart for the preservation of such traditions, and the memory of the race is short. They are a mild and unwarlike people, and are said to have given up the use of arms when they placed themselves under the protection of the Ahom kings.

They claim kinship with no other tribe in Assam, and are, in fact, difficult to group with other branches of the great Tibeto-Burman stock to which they undoubtedly belong. The conclusions as to their affinities which it seems legitimate to draw from their institutions, culture, and language, will be found stated in Section VII. of this Monograph.

In dress the Mikir man imitates the Khasi, to whom he seems to have lived in subjection in former times. On his head he now wears a turban (*pohu*, *poho*), but formerly the Khasi cap (*phu-tup*), of black or red cloth, was more usually worn. On his loins he wears a *dhoti* (*rikong*) of cotton cloth, and sometimes, if wealthy, of silk. His coat is a sleeveless striped jacket (*choi*), with a long fringe covering the buttocks

and coming round in front (*choi-apre*). In cold weather he wears a thick wrapper (called in Assamese *bor kapor*) of *eri* silk (*pe-inki*). The legs are uncovered, and shoes are not worn.

The women wear a petticoat (*pini*), secured round the waist by an ornamental girdle (*vankok*). The petticoat is of white and red striped *eri* cloth. The upper part of the body is covered with the *ji-so*, a wrapper passing under the arms and drawn tight over the breasts. The head is uncovered, and the hair is drawn back and tied in a knot behind. In the funeral dances, however, the head is covered with a black scarf (*ji-so ke-ik*).

The men do not tattoo any part of the body. The women, on attaining puberty, usually tattoo a perpendicular line with indigo down the middle of the forehead, the nose, upper lip, and chin; no other part of the body is tattooed.

A characteristic ornament is a large silver tube inserted into the lobe of the ear, which is much distended thereby; this is called *kadengchinro*, and weighs three or four rupees. The ordinary hanging earring (suspended from the outer part of the ear) of gold or silver is called *no-rik*. Necklaces (*lek*) are worn, of gold or silver and coral beads, as by the Khasis. Rings (*arnan*) and bracelets (*roi*), of gold and silver, are worn. The feathers of the *bhim-raj* are worn in the turban on festival occasions, as among the Khasis.

The national weapons are the long knife (*nok, nok-jir*), by the English commonly called by the Hindi name *dao*, the spear, (*chir*), and the bow (*thqi, bop-thaili*) made of bamboo, with a string of tough bamboo fibre. In these there is nothing peculiar.

II.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

Occupations—Houses—Furniture—Implements and utensils—Manufactures
—Agriculture—*Risomar*, or lads' clubs—Crops—Hunting—Fishing—
Food and Drink.

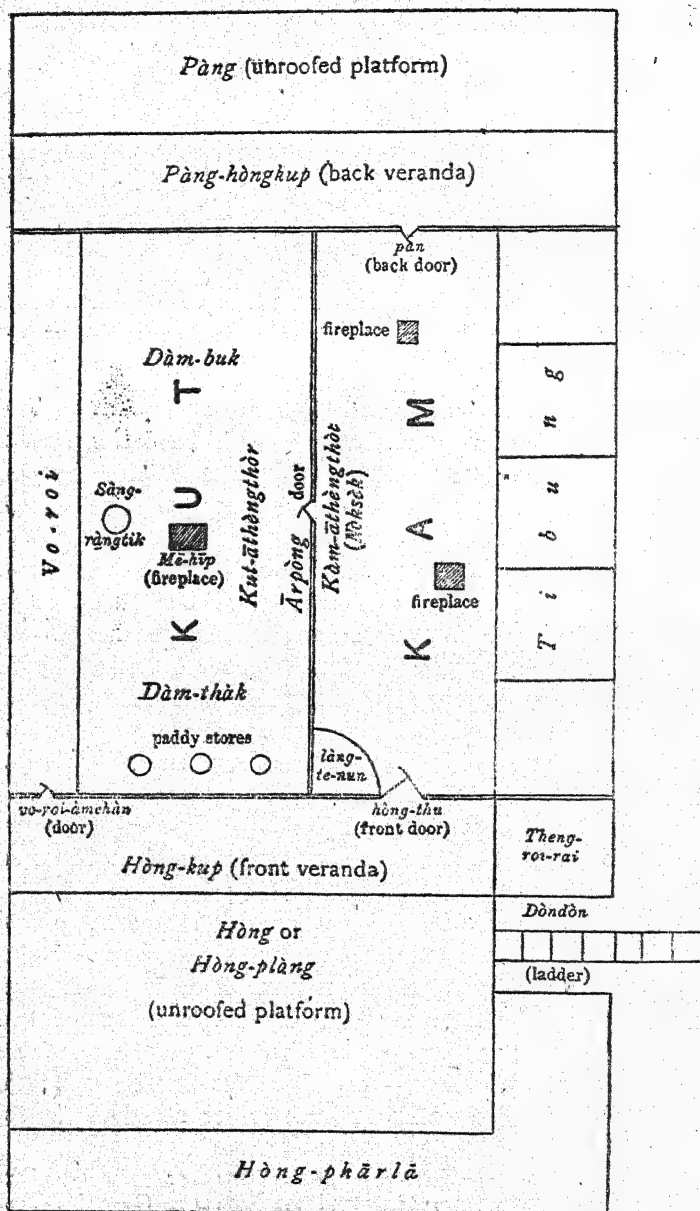
THE Mikir people have always been agriculturists. Their villages, in the hills which are their proper habitat, are set up in clearings in the forest, and are shifted from place to place when the soil has been exhausted by cropping. Their houses are large and substantial, and are strongly put together. The Mikirs are not now (if they ever were*), as Colonel Dalton relates in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, in the habit of lodging several families, or even the whole village, in one house. The inhabitants of a house are all of one family, but may often be numerous, as married sons frequently live with their parents.

The Mikir house is built on posts, and the floor is raised several feet above the ground. The material of the superstructure is bamboo, slit and flattened out, and the whole is thatched with *san*-grass. A moderate elevation, with a flat top, is preferred for building; a slope will be taken if no better site can be found.

The house is divided lengthwise by a partition called *arpong*, or *noksek-arpong*, into *kam*, the guests' or servants' chamber, and *kut*, the living-room of the family. *Kam* is on the right side as you enter, and the only door into the house leads into it. In *kam* a platform or *chang*, called *tibung*, raised above the floor the diameter of a bamboo, runs along the outside wall; this may be divided off laterally into rooms for sleeping. In *kut*,

* One is tempted to conjecture that this statement is an error based on a confusion between the *Miris* and the *Mikirs* in Colonel Dalton's notebooks. The custom referred to obtains among the *Miris*:

PLAN OF MIKIR HOUSE.



(Yard or compound before the house, usually fenced round)

separated off by a partition on the side of the outer wall, is a long, narrow chamber, one bamboo's diameter lower than the floor, called *vo-roi*, in which the fowls and goats are kept at night; it has a separate door, called *vo-roi-amehan*. In *kut*, towards the back, is the fireplace (*mehip*). The space before it is *dam-thak*, where the family sleep, and the bamboo paddy-receptacle stands. Behind the fireplace is *dam-buk*, a vacant space, where the grown-up daughter or old woman sleeps. Between the fire and the *vo-roi* is the rice-pot (*sang-rangtik*), holding the stock of husked rice. Between the fire and the partition (*arpong*) is the *kut-athengthor*, a space for miscellaneous articles. Above the *vo-roi* a shelf is raised under the roof, called *vo-harlip*, for pots, etc. Opposite the fireplace is a door leading into *kam*.

In *kam*, if the house is large, there are two fireplaces. Before the fire the space is called *kam-athengthot*, or *noksek*. In the corner of the front wall and the partition (*arpong*) are put the water-chungas (*lang-bong*); it is called *lang-ienun*. The front door is called *hongthu*, the back door *pan*, or *pan-hongthu*.

The front veranda is called *hong-kup*. The *tibung* runs out into it, and the part beyond the front wall of the house is called *theng-roi-rai*, "the place for bringing (or storing) firewood" (*theng*). Beyond the *hong-kup* the platform extends unroofed (*hong-plang*). If the house be a large one, a *hong-pharla*, roofed over, for strangers to lodge in, is made on the right side of the *hong-plang*, but disconnected with the *theng-roi-rai*; between it and the latter is the ladder to gain access to the platform (*dondon*), usually a tree-trunk with notches cut in it for the feet. The *hong-pharla* may extend also across the front of the house; it is roofed over, but open towards the house. Similarly, at the back of the house is the *pang-hongkup*, or back veranda, and the unroofed *pang* beyond. No ladder gives access to this.

Under the house are the pigsties, *phak-roi*, and in front is a yard or compound (*tikup*), usually fenced round.

The furniture of the house is of the simplest description. The floor, or a raised platform of bamboo, serves as a bed. A block of wood (*inghoi*; Ass. *pira*) is used as a stool to sit on.

Baskets of bamboo and cane are employed as cupboards in which to store the household goods, the paddy, and the clothes. These baskets are of various shapes and sizes, and bear many different names. Joints of bamboo (Ass. *chunga*; Mikir, *lang-bong*) are used for holding water, and also as boxes to contain valuables of all kinds.

The Mikirs have few manufactures. Weaving is done by the women of the family on rude wooden looms (*pe-therang*), the cotton raised in their fields being previously spun on a wheel (*mi-thongrang*). They also raise *eri* silk (*inki*), the cocoon of the *Attacus ricini*, fed on the castor-oil plant, and weave it into coarse fabrics, chiefly the *bor-kapor*, or blanket, used in the cold weather. They dye their thread with indigo (*sibu*), a small patch of which is grown near every house. The indigo is not derived from *Indigofera*, but from a species of *Strobilanthes*, generally identified as *S. flaccidifolius*. Mr. Stack notes that there are two kinds, *bu-thi* and *bu-jir*; the latter, he says, is trained up poles, and has a longer leaf. The leaves of the plant are bruised in a wooden mortar and mixed with water, and the blue colour develops, as in ordinary indigo, in a few days' time by chemical change. Besides indigo, they use a red dye, the source of which is probably the same as the Khasi red dye (see *Khasi Monograph*, p. 60).

Blacksmiths (*hemai*) have existed among them from remote times, and they can fashion their own *daos* and various kinds of knives. They also make needles (for which old umbrella-ribs are in much request), and hooks for fishing.

They also make their own gold and silver ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, rings, ear-ornaments).

Pottery is made *without the wheel*, as among the Khasis (*Monograph*, p. 61). It is thick and durable, and well burnt. There are few potters among them, and the accomplishment is not common.

In all these branches of manufacture the tendency, with the increase of intercourse and the cessation of isolation, is to give up domestic workmanship and rely more upon outside markets.

The main crops are summer rice (*maikum*), sown with the first rains and reaped in November–December, and cotton (*phelo*), also grown in the rains and gathered in the cold

weather. The system of *jhuming*, by which land is prepared for cultivation by cutting down and burning the jungle, is in no respect different from the practice of all hill-tribes in the province. They do not plant out their rice, nor use the plough in cultivating it. There is no irrigation.

Besides these main crops, castor-oil is grown for feeding the *eri* silkworm; maize (*thengthe*), turmeric (*jtharmit*), yams (*hen, Colocasia*), red pepper (*birik*), aubergines (Hindi, *baingan*; Mikir, *hepi*), and ginger (*hanso*) are also cultivated in small patches. Another crop is lac, grown on branches of the *arhar* plant (see *Khasi Monograph*, p. 47).

When Mr. Stack wrote, the most important institution from the point of view of agriculture was the association or club of the *dekas* (Ass.), or young men (from twelve to sixteen, eighteen, or twenty years of age) of the village (Mikir, *ri-so-mar*); but it is reported that this useful form of co-operation is now falling into desuetude. In former days the village youths (as in Naga-land) used to live together in a house by themselves, called in Mikir *maro* or *terang* (in Assamese, *deka-chang*).^{*} Now there is no *maro*, and the *risomar* live in the *gaonbura's* house, in the *hong-pharla*, the place in which strangers are lodged. They send a boy to bring their food from their homes, and all eat together. Each man's share is brought in a leaf-bundle (*an-bor*) to keep it warm. The *gaonbura* calls the people together, and proposes that, having so many lads in the village, they should start a lads' club. If agreed to, the union of the *risomar* is formed, and the lads take up their quarters in his house. The club is organized under regular officers appointed by themselves. The *gaonbura* has general authority over them, but their own chief is the *kleng sarpo*. Next comes the *kleng-dun*, then the *sodar-kethe*, then the *sodar-so* or *phandiri*, then the *sangho-kerai* ("he who fetches the company"), then the *barlon* ("carrier of the measuring-rod"). Other officers are the *cheng-brup-pi* and *cheng-*

^{*} In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1874, p. 17, there is an illustration and description of a Mikir "bachelors' house," or *terang*, by Mr. C. Brownlow, a tea-planter in Cachar. The group of Mikirs among whom it was found lived at the head of the Kopili river, looking down on the Cachar valley.

brup-so (drummers, chief and lieutenant), the *phan-kri* (the lad who waits on the *kleng sarpo*), the *motan ar-e* and *motan arvi* ("the right and left outside strips of the field"), the *langbong-po* ("carrier of the water-*chung*a"), *arphek-po* ("carrier of the broom"), and the *chinhak-po* ("carrier of the basket of tools"). The *risomar* all work in the fields together, each having his own strip (*a-mo*) to till. The village fields are allotted each to one house, and the grown men confine their work to their own fields; but the *risomar* go the round of all the fields in the village.

Work is enforced by penalties. They used to *roast* those who shirked their share; now they beat them for failure to work. If the *kleng sarpo* finds a lad refractory, he reports him to the *gaonbura*.

Villages like having *deka* clubs. They help greatly in cultivation, practice dancing and singing, and keep alive the village usages and tribal customs. They are in great request at funerals, which are the celebrations in which most spirit is shown.

Hunting, with spears and dogs, is practised. The objects of the chase are deer and wild pig; also the iguana (Ass. *gui*) and tortoise. The dog barks and follows up the track by scent. They also set traps (*arhang*) for tigers, with a spear placed so as to be discharged from a spring formed by a bent sapling; twice round the tiger's pug gives the height of his chest, at which the spear is pointed; a rope of creeper stretched across the path releases the spring when the tiger passes that way and comes against it.

Fishing is done with rod and line, but chiefly by means of traps and baskets, as in Assam generally. The trap (*ru*) is a basket of bamboo, constructed so that the fish can get in but cannot get out, and is fixed in an opening in a fence (*a-ru-pat*) placed in a stone dam built across a stream.

The staple food is rice, which is husked in the usual way, by being pounded with a long pestle in a wooden mortar, and cooked by the women of the family. The flesh of cows is not eaten; there is said to be a dislike even to keep them, but this prejudice is now dying out. Milk is not drunk. Fowls, goats, and pigs are kept for food, but eaten chiefly at sacrifices; eggs

are eaten. A delicacy is the chrysalis of the *eri* silkworm (*Attacus ricini*); it is eaten roasted and curried. Children (but not grown folk) cook and eat crabs and rats. In cooking meat, spits (*ok-akron*) are used; the meat is either cut up and skewered, or a large lump is placed whole on the embers; it is thoroughly cooked. Fish is cut into slices and put in the sun to dry, or smoked. Meat also is cut into strips and dried on frames in the sun.

The vegetables are those commonly used by the Assamese. Sugar-cane (*nok*) is not much grown. A favourite seasoning is mint (*lopong-brik*).

Men and women eat together, within the house. The right hand is used in eating. Leaf-plates are most used, but platters of pot-metal are also found. No knife is used in eating: the meat is cut up beforehand.

The first meal is cooked and eaten at 7 or 8 a.m., and consists of rice. The evening meal is cooked after the day's field-work is over, unless there be a cook in the house. At each meal a pinch of the food is put aside for the God (*arnam*).

The national drink is rice-beer (*hor*, *horpo*), which is made by each household for itself. The rice is cooked, and well broken up on a mat. It is then mixed with a ferment called *thap* (Bengali, *bakhar*), made of powdered rice with certain kinds of leaves pounded into it, and the whole dried for use as required. After this has been thoroughly mixed with the boiled rice, the latter is heaped up and covered with plantain leaves, and put aside in the house. In three or four days, in the hot weather, fermentation sets in; in the cold weather a longer time is required. It is then put into an earthen jar or *kalsi* (Beng.) and water added, after which it is emptied into a conical basket, whence it is allowed to strain through a bamboo joint into a pot below. To make *hor* (Ass. *modh*), rice is taken from the basket and warmed with water, which is strained off, and is the *modh* or *horpo*; the rice is thrown to the pigs. The better and stronger beer is that which was drained off the original conical basket, and is called *hor-alang*.

Arak (Hind.) is the spirit distilled from the fermented rice mixed with water. The still is a rude one of earthen pots

connected by a bamboo. A stronger stuff is made by distilling *hor-alang*.

Hor will keep good for two months if left untouched. It is a common family drink. Gourds are used for keeping it in and carrying it about for use.

Drunkenness is not common in the villages, and the ceremonies and festivities at which beer is drunk are not noisy. The *me* or general council, however, when large quantities are consumed, is sometimes noisy.

Opium is used to a large extent by the Mikirs as by other Assamese (Mr. Allen states that nearly all male adults indulge in it). Tobacco is smoked, and also chewed with betel. The bowl of the tobacco-pipe is made of burnt clay or of bamboo root. Betel-nut (*kove*; Khasi, *kwai*) is largely consumed in the usual way, with lime and *pan*-leaf (*bithi*); and (as among the Khasis) time and distance are computed by the interval required to chew a nut. (The phrase is *ingtat e-om-ta er*, "the time it takes to chew the nut and *pan*-leaf red": *ingtat*, roll for chewing; *e-*, one; *om*, chew; *er*, red.)

III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

Internal structure—Sections or divisions—Exogamous groups—Marriage laws—Common names—Marriage ceremony—Female chastity—Polygamy—Divorce—Words for relationship by blood and marriage—Inheritance—Property in land—Decision of disputes—Village council—Relations with neighbouring races—*Appendix*: Lists of exogamous groups given by other authorities compared with those given by Mr. Stack.

THE Mikir people proper—that is, those who continue to live in the hills—are divided into three sections, called Chintong, Ronghang, and Amri. In the days of the migration eastward from the Kopili region, Amri stayed behind, or loitered, and Chintong and Ronghang waited for him as they moved from stage to stage. At last, on arriving at the Dhansiri river, Chintong and Ronghang resolved to be only two sections in future. The laggard Amri afterwards arrived, but was not received back into full fellowship. He has no honour at the general festivals, and in the distribution of rice-beer at feasts he gets no gourd for himself, but has to drink from those of the other two. These are the conditions as they exist in the Mikir Hills and Nowgong (Duar Baguri); in Ni-hang, however (the region of the Kopili), Amri is on an equality with the others. The Mikir Hills are chiefly inhabited by the Chintong section, North Cachar and the hilly parts of Nowgong by the Ronghang, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills by Amri; but individuals of all three are found dwelling among the others.

These names, however, do not indicate true tribal divisions, supposed to be derived from a common ancestor and united in blood, and are probably in reality local- or place-names. Amri, in particular, seems to be a Khasi river-name, and Ronghang is the legendary site of Sot Recho's capital. The real tribal

exogamous divisions run through all three, and are called *kur* (a Khasi word: Assamese, *phoid*). Each of the three sections of the race has within it the same *kurs*, and the individuals belonging to these *kurs*, whether in Chintong, Ronghang, or Amri, observe the same rules of exogamy.

The number and names of the *kurs*, or exogamous groups, are differently given by different authorities. The differences appear to be partly explained by the fact that one authority has taken for a principal group-name what another has entered as a sub-group under another larger section. In an appendix will be found the grouping according to several different authorities. Here the data given by Mr. Stack, who appears to have relied chiefly on information obtained in Duar Baguri, are reproduced.

He found that the people recognized four *kurs*, called respectively *Ingti*, *Terang*,* *Lekthe*, and *Timung*, under which the smaller groups (also called *kur*) are ranged thus—

I. Ingti.	II. Terang.	III. Lekthe.	IV. Timung.
(1) Taro.	(1) Be.	(1) Hanse.	(1) Tokbi.
(2) Katar.	(2) Kro.	(2) Tutso.	(2) Sengnar.
(3) Hensek.	(3) Ingjar.	(3) Bongrun.	(3) Rongphar.
(4) Inglang.		(4) Kramsa.	

As already mentioned, these *kurs* are exogamous: an individual belonging to *kur* Ingti must go outside that *kur* for his wife; and similarly Terang, Lekthe, and Timung cannot marry wives drawn from within the *kur*. The sub-groups are, of course, as parts of the larger groups, also exogamous; and it is easy to perceive how one informant may count as a principal group-division what another may regard as a sub-division. All the *kurs* are now socially on an equality, and have no scruples as to eating together or intermarriage; their traditional rank is, however, as given above. Ingti is said to have been in former times the priestly clan (Ass. *gohain*); Terang also claims this dignity, but is thought to be of lower rank; but in both cases the office has fallen entirely into desuetude. Lekthe is said to have been the military clan, while Timung represented the rest of the people.

The Mikirs who settled in the plains of Nowgong and took to plough cultivation are called *Dumrali* by the Mikirs and

* Other authorities mention a fifth, *Teron*, which Mr. Stack may have overlooked because of the similarity of its name to *Terang*.

Tholua by the Assamese. They are said to have acted as interpreters to the mission which visited the Ahom king at Sibsagar. They also have the same *kurs* as the other three sections of hill Mikirs.

The children are counted to their father's *kur*, and cannot marry within it. They may, however, marry their first cousins on the mother's side, and indeed this appears to have been formerly the most usual match. This absence of matriarchal institutions strongly marks off the Mikirs from the Khasis, from whom they have in other respects borrowed much.

The following are common personal names among the Mikirs:—

MEN.		WOMEN.	
Sardoka.	Bura.	Kareng.	Kare.
Mon.	Pator.	Kache.	Kasang.
Dili.	Long.	Kaban.	Kadom.
There.	Men.	Kamang.	Dimi.
Kangther.	Bi.	Ka-et.	Ingle.
Tamoi.	Sotera.	Ka-jir.	
Temen.		Katu.	

It is said that no meaning is attached to these names; that is, they are not given because of any meaning which they may possess. (It is evident that many of them *have* a meaning: e.g. *Bi* is a goat, *Long* a stone, *Pator* is a village official among the Khasis, *Bura* is Assamese for "an old man," *Tamoi* is probably the Assamese for the betel-nut (*tamol*.) *Sotera* may be corrupted from *sangtara*, orange.) The prefix *Ka-* in women's names is manifestly taken from Khasi usage. There are no surnames, but the name of the *kur* is used to distinguish one individual from another, as Mon Lekthe, Mon Timung.

The age for marriage is from fourteen to twenty-five for the man, ten to fifteen for the girl; eighteen or nineteen and fifteen are the most usual ages. Child marriage is unknown. If a young man fancies a girl (from meeting her at dances and the like), he sends one or both parents to her father's house, and if the girl's parents agree, the lad's father leaves a betrothal ring or bracelet with the girl (this is called *ke-roi-dun*); sometimes a gourd of rice beer is taken and accepted, and in that case, if she subsequently marries another, the village council fine her family 25 to 35 rupees; otherwise only the betrothal ring or bracelet is returned. The

length of the engagement is uncertain, but the actual marriage does not take place till after puberty. When the marriage day is fixed, both families prepare beer and spirits; if the bridegroom is rich, he provides drink for the whole country-side (*hor-hak hor-tibuk*). The bridegroom's party, giving a gourd of beer to each village they pass through, arrive at the bride's house in the evening. There they sit awhile, and then offer one gourd of beer and one glass bottle of spirits to the bride's father on the *hong*. A colloquy ensues: the bride's father asks the bridegroom's why they have come, and why these offerings. He answers, "Your sister (*i.e.* the wife of the speaker) is becoming old and cannot work, so we have brought our son to marry your daughter." (The custom formerly was that a boy must marry is first cousin on the mother's side, and if he did not, the maternal uncle could beat the lad as much as he liked; but now they can do as they please.) The reply follows: "My daughter is unworthy, she does not know weaving and other household work." "Never mind, we will teach her ourselves." The bride's father then asks his wife to enquire of the girl if she will take the lad; without her consent the beer and spirits cannot be accepted. If the wife reports consent, the beer and spirits are drunk by the two fathers. Sometimes they sit the whole night before the girl's consent is obtained. If any knowing old men are there, they sing in two parties: "We cannot send our daughter to your house!" "We cannot leave our boy to stay with you!" When the question of consent is settled, all eat together. Then the bride prepares the bed inside the house for the bridegroom, in the *kam*; in the *tibung* (see plan*) if there is room: if not, in the *thengthor*; but if the lad is ashamed, he sends one of his garments to take his place in the bed.

What follows depends upon the wealth and standing of the parties. If the wedding is *akejoi*—that is, if no payment is to be made for the bride—the girl goes with her husband next day to her new home. Her parents accompany her, and are entertained with food and drink, returning the following day. If the wedding is *akemen* (literally, ripe, *pakka*), the lad stays in his father-in-law's house. He rests one day, and then works for his

father-in-law for a year, or two years, or even it may be for life, according to agreement. There is no money payment in any case. If the girl is an heiress or only daughter, the marriage is usually *akemen*; but in the great majority of cases it is *akejoi*. The neighbours of both villages assemble at the marriage, and when the bride goes to her husband's house, the neighbours of the village accompany her and are hospitably entertained.

Before marriage it was reported, when Mr. Stack made his enquiries, that there was little intercourse between the sexes. Seduction rarely occurred, but when it did, the parents of the girl had to give her to the lad in marriage. It was not punished. Old men, however, could remember (1885) when the *terang* or "bachelors' house" used to be the abode not only of the lads, but also of the maids, and illegitimate births were common. The girls used even to work in the fields with the boys; there was not even a matron to look after them!

After marriage adultery is said to be rare. The case is judged by the *me*, or village council who inflict a fine. The guilty pair are tied up and exposed to the scorn of the neighbours until the fine is paid by the man. Adultery was never capitally punished. After the fine is paid, the husband has to take his wife back, unless there are no children, when he might refuse to do so. The fine is not given to the offended husband, but distributed among the elders who compose the *me*.

The authorities differ on the question whether more than one wife is allowed. When Mr. Stack wrote, in 1883, the chapter on "Castes and Tribes" in the Report on the Assam Census of 1881, he stated that "polygamy is permitted if a man can afford it." His subsequent notes of 1885-86, however, record that monogamy is the rule, and no one is allowed to marry two wives. Mr. W. C. M. Dundas, Subdivisional Officer of North Cachar, writing in 1903, says that an Arleng may marry only one wife. On the other hand, the Rev. P. E. Moore, who has a long experience of the Mikirs, writing in 1902, says, "Polygamy is not common. A man sometimes takes a second wife. In one instance which came to my notice recently the two wives were married on the same day. The man is usually fined Rs. 12.8 for this irregularity. The father of a boy who is now in my service had six wives, and

was not punished at all."* Perhaps it may be concluded that monogamy is the general rule, and that cases of polygamy have occurred in consequence of the effect of the example of the Assamese, and the weakening of tribal sanctions.

The young couple live in the bridegroom's father's house. The old people often get separate rooms allotted to them as they advance in life, and are supported in idleness.

Widow marriage is allowed. Divorce is rare, but permissible if there is no offspring, or if the girl goes home after marriage and refuses to return to her husband. In that case the husband takes a gourd of beer to her parents and declares himself free. Both parties, after the divorce, can marry again.

[NOTE BY EDITOR.]

The following list of Mikir words for family relationship has some points of interest:—

Grandfather, *phu*.
Father, *po*.
Husband, *peng-an*.

Grandmother, *phi*.
Mother, *pei*, *pi*.
Wife, *peso*.

(Wedded pair, *Peng-an-so*, *Pengnan-so*.)

Wife's father, *hupo*, *onghai*.
Husband's father, *lok-hai*.
Father's brother, *punu*.
Mother's brother, *ong*, *nihu*.

Wife's mother, *nipi*, *nihai*.
Father's sister, *pinu*.
Father's brother's wife, *ni*.

Child, common gender, without reference to parents, *so*.

Boy, *oso*.
Son, *sopo*.
Grandson, *supo*.
Brother, in general, *kor*, *korte*.
Brother, when speaker is a female, *chekle*.

Girl, *osopi*.
Daughter, *sopi*.
Granddaughter, *supi*.
Sister, in general, *kor*, *korte*.

Elder brother } words used { *ik*
Younger brother } by both sexes { *mu*

Elder sister { *te*, when speaker is
a female.
ingjirpi, when speaker
is a male.

Brother-in-law: wife's brother, *ong-so*.

Younger sister, *mu*.
Brother's wife, for male speaker, *tepi*; for female speaker, *neng*.
Wife's sister, *korpi*.

Sister's husband, *me*, *ingjir-arlo*; *korpo*.

Son-in-law, *osa*.
Nephew, generally, *philipo*.
Elder brother's son, *ik-aso*.
Brother's son, *kor-aso*.
Sister's son, *osa*.

Niece, *philipi*.

* In the story of Harata Kunwar, *post*, p. 57, a second or co-wife is mentioned (Mikir, *pateng*, *paju*).

The remarkable point about these names is that most of them are the same for both sexes, and that the sexes are distinguished only by words indicating gender where this is required. *Po* is the index for the male, *pi* that for the female.

Again, the same word appears to be used in different senses: e.g. *ong* is maternal uncle, but *ong-so* (*so* is the syllable indicating a diminutive) is the wife's brother, the "little uncle;" *osa* is both nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law (pointing to the custom of intermarriage of first cousins on the mother's side). *Te* is sister, but *tepi* (*pi* indicates greatness) is brother's wife. Similarly, *kor* is sister (or brother), *korpi* is wife's sister, *korpo* sister's husband.

It will be observed that brothers and sisters, and brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, use different forms of address when speaking of their relationship *inter se*.

The whole subject seems to demand further investigation, in the light of comparison with the system of family grouping in other allied tribes, and the history and etymology, so far as it is possible to ascertain them, of the words indicating relationship.]

The sons inherit; if there are none, the brothers; after them the deceased's nearest agnate of his own *kur*. The wife and daughters get nothing. But if the deceased has no sons or brothers, the widow can retain the property by marrying into her husband's *kur*. In any case she retains her personal property, ornaments, clothes, etc. If the widow will not surrender the property, the case has to come before the *me*.

The eldest son gets somewhat more than the others on the father's death. Generally, however, the property is divided beforehand by the father, who often prefers one son to another. The family usually continues to dwell together, the grown-up sons supporting the widowed mother. Adoption is unknown.

Villages have no fixed or recognized boundaries, but are moved from place to place according to the needs of cultivation. Only house-tax is paid, except by Mikirs cultivating land with the plough in the submontane tracts, who are treated in all respects like other Assamese *rai-yats*. In the hills the cultivable land, at the first settlement of a village in a new locality, is divided among the householders by the *me*, or village council, presided over by the *gaonbura*, the head of each household choosing his own land for cultivation, and any dispute being

referred to the *me*. Should the dispute not be settled in this manner, the majority prevails, and the dissident households, if they do not acquiesce, may remove elsewhere and set up for themselves as a new community with a *gaonbura* of their own.

The following are the Mikir *mauzas*, or territorial divisions including a number of villages, in the Nowgong district:—

Duar Baguri, Duar Bamuni, Duar Salona, Rongkhang, Duar Amla Parbat, Duar Dikhoru, Duar Kothiatali, Jamuna-par, Langpher, Lumding Mikir. The last two are new *mauzas*, the opening-out of which is due to the Assam-Bengal Railway, which traverses the tract. Each *mauza* has a Mikir *mauzadar* or *bikhoya*.

The decision of disputes is the business of the village *me*, or council,* presided over by the *gaonbura* (Mikir, *sar-the*). The *me* is composed of all the male householders. The *gaonbura* is chosen for his personal character by the householders. On election, he repairs, with beer and spirits, to the head *gaonbura* or *mauzadar*, bringing with him two or three other *gaonburas*. A pig is killed, the company eat and drink together, and the *gaonbura* is declared duly elected. The *me* is summoned by the *gaonbura*. It decides all village disputes, and inflicts small fines. It also determines whether the village shall be shifted, and where it shall be removed to. A *me-pi* ("great council") consists of *gaonburas* only, presided over by a *mauzadar* or head *gaonbura*. Graver matters, such as charges of adultery, witchcraft aimed at life (*maja kechonghoi*), tigers in the *mauza*, questions affecting the *mauza* at large, the arrangements for the *Rongker* or annual village festival, and such like, are referred to the *me-pi*.

The Mikirs have never been a warlike race, nor are there any traditions of inter-village feuds. Head-hunting has not been practised, but the tribe have often been the victim of raids for this purpose by their neighbours, the Angami Nagas. There are said to have formerly been vendettas between families.

During the Burmese wars in the early part of the last century, the tribe deserted its settlements in the submontane

* This is an Assamese word, *mel*. The Mikirs cannot pronounce a final *l*, and always omit it or change it to *i* or *y* in words adopted from Assamese; e.g. *hal*, plough, becomes *hay*; *pitol*, brass, *pitoi*; *tamol*, betel-nut, *tamoi*.

tract, and fled into the higher hills. Many Assamese are reported to have taken refuge with them during this time, and to have become Mikirs. [Mr. Dundas also mentions that in North Cachar outsiders are admitted into the tribe and are enrolled as members of one of the *kurs*, after purification by one of the Be-kuru *kur* (Mr. Stack's *Be* and *Kro*, sub-*kurs* of *Terang*). In the group opposite, taken from a photograph supplied by Mr. Dundas, the short man is evidently a Khasi, while the man to his left appears to be an Assamese.]

The Mikirs call their Kachari neighbours *Parok*, the Mikir pronunciation of Boro (in the allied dialect of Tipperah *borok* means "man"); the Assamese are *Ahom*, the Bengalis *Bongnai* (*Bongnai-adin*, "British rule"), the Nagas *Naka*. The Khasis generally are called *Chomang*, the border race of Khasis, adjoining the Kopili or Kupli river, being *Chomang Keche*. *Keche* is, no doubt, equivalent to *Khasi*, the vowel-change being the same as in *Recho* for *Raja*.

APPENDIX.

1. The *kurs* or exogamous groups of the Mikir race are thus given in the Assam Census Report for 1891 (vol. iii. pp. cii.-cii):—

Main Subdivisions.

I. Ingti. II. Terang. III. Teran. IV. Tumung. V. Inghi or Hengse.

I. Subdivisions of Ingti—

1. Ingle.
2. Ingti-Henchek.
3. Ingti-Kiling.

4. Kathar.
5. Tarak or Taro.

II. Subdivisions of Terang—

1. Be-bonghang (read *Be-Ronghang*).
2. Be-Jingthong.
3. Injai.
4. Kro.
5. Kro-bonghang (read *Kro-Ronghang*).

6. Kro-Jingthong.
7. Kro-ghoria.
8. Lilipo-kro.
9. Rongbijiya.
10. Tarang.
11. Terang.

III. Subdivisions of Teran—

1. Ai.
2. Kangkat.
3. Langle.

4. Milik.
5. Tarap.

IV. Subdivisions of Tumung—

1. Benar-pator.
2. Chenar.
3. Dera.
4. Keleng.

5. Rongphar.
6. Rongtar*-Jungthong.
7. Takki.
8. Tumung-pator.

V. Subdivisions of Inghi—

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bonrung. | 6. Rongpi. |
| 2. Hanche. | 7. Rongchekon. |
| 3. Ke-ap. | 8. Tuso. |
| 4. Lekethe. | 9. Tutab. |
| 5. Ronghang-ghoria. | |

An attempt is made in the report to translate some of these names, but it appears very doubtful whether the meanings assigned are correct. So far as they go, the explanations show that some of the names (to which an Assamese form has in some cases been given, as in those ending in *ghoria*) are designations of offices (e.g. Pator, Rongchekon=village watchman), while others are local or place-names.

Under I. Ingti, (1) Ingle is evidently Mr. Stack's Ingle; (4) Kathar is his Katar, (2) [Ingti]-Henchek is his Hensek, and (5) Taro his Taro.

Under II. Terang, (1 and 2) Be is Mr. Stack's Be, (4, 5, 6, 7) Kro is his Kro, and (3) Injai is probably his Ingjar; the others seem to be either local names (8, Lilipo-kro=Western Kro, Nilip=west; 9, Rongbijiya=inhabitants of some particular village), or duplicates of the group-name Terang (Nos. 10 and 11).

Mr. Stack had no group named Teran.

Group IV., Tumung, corresponds to Mr. Stack's Timung; of the subdivisions, 2, Chenar is probably his Sengnar, 5, Rongphar agrees with his list, and 7, Takki is probably his Tokbi. Nos. 1 and 8 are explained as office-holders, No. 3 is a place-name, No. 4 is a river (Kiling), and No. 6 seems to be a duplicate of No. 5.

Group V., Inghi, corresponds to Mr. Stack's Lekthe, which occurs as the name of subdivision 4 in the census list; 1, Bonrung, is Mr. Stack's Bongrun; 2, Hanche, is his Hanse; 8, Tuso, is his Tutso. His Kramsa is not found in the census list, but occurs, as will be seen below, in other lists.

2. Mr. Dundas, Subdivisional Officer of North Cachar, writing in March 1903, gives the following groups:—

Main Exogamous Groups.

I. Inghi. II. Timung. III. Teron. IV. Kathar. V. Be. VI. Injai.

* *Qu.* Rongphar ?

II. Inghi has the following subdivisions :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Rongpi, further subdivided into | (a) Rongchaichu, (b) Rongchehon, (c) Chinthong, (d) Lindok. |
| 2. Ronghang " " | (a) Hempi, (b) Hemso. |
| 3. Inghi " " | (a) Hempi, (b) Hemso. |
| 4. Hanse " " | (a) Dulong, (b) Nongkirla, (c) Chinthong, (d) Kiling. |
| 5. Lekthe " " | (a) Keap, (b) Tereng. |
| 6. Bongrung " " | (a) Kramsa, (b) Rongchehon, (c) Hemso. |
| 7. Tutso " " | (a) Motho, (b) Rongphu, (c) Ronghing, (d) Rongchitim, (e) Rongchaichu, (f) Rongchehon. |

(Nos. 4, 6, and 7 agree with Mr. Stack's list under Lekthe, and Mr. Stack's Kramsa appears as a further subdivision of Bongrung. As regards the others, the names beginning with Rong may be local village names; Chinthong and Ronghang are the names of great sections of the Mikir population, not of exogamous groups; Hempi and Hemso mean merely "great house" and "little house.")

II. Timung (Mr. Stack has the same spelling) comprises—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Timung Lindok, subdivision | (a) Rongchaichu. |
| 2. Rongphar " " | (a) Hempi, (b) Hemso. |
| 3. Chinthong " " | (a) Seng-ar, (b) Hempi, (c) Hemso. |
| 4. Phangchu " " | (a) Juiti, (b) Rongphang, (c) Hempi, (d) Hemso, (e) Dili. |
| 5. Phura " " | (a) Dili. |
| 6. Tokbi " " | (a) Toksiki. |
| 7. Kiling | |
| 8. Meji | |
| 9. Pator | |
| 10. Longteroi | |
| 11. Yachi " " | (a) Hempi, (b) Hemso |
| 12. Dera " " | (a) Hempi, (b) Hemso. |
| 13. Rongpi | |

(Here Nos. 2 and 6 correspond with Mr. Stack's subdivisions, and No. 3 (a), Seng-ar, is his Sengnar; several of the remainder appear to be local names.)

III. Teron comprises—

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Langne, subdivision | (a) Rongchaichu. |
| 2. Kongkar " " | (a) Dengya. |
| 3. Meji | |
| 4. Milik | (a) Serang. |
| 5. Mele | |
| 6. Kiling | |

(Mr. Stack has none of these names; but Langne evidently corresponds to Langle in the census list, and Kongkar to Kangkat, while Milik is in both.)

IV. Kathar comprises—

1. Ingti-Kathar
2. Riso
3. Hensek
4. Ingti-Kiling
5. Ingling, subdivisions (a) Hempi, (b) Hemso.
6. Ingti-Chinthong
7. Taro

(These names, except Riso, which means "young man," all occur in Mr. Stack's group Ingti. Nos. 4 and 6 are evidently local subdivisions.)

V. Be comprises—

1. Ronghang
2. Kiling
3. Lindok
4. Seng-ot
5. Terang, subdivisions (a) Dili, (b) Rongchaichu.
6. Kuru, subdivisions (a) Rongchaichu, (b) Nihang, (c) Nilip.

(This group corresponds to Mr. Stack's Terang; Kuru is his Kro. Subdivisions 1, 2, and 3 are apparently local names.)

VI. Injai comprises—

1. Injai
2. Ing-ar.

(Mr. Stack gives Ingjar as a subdivision of Terang; the census list also classes Injai under the same main group. Mr. Dundas notes that the Injai may not take a wife from the Be (*i.e.* Terang) group, from which it may be concluded that they are really a sub-division of that name, or Terang.)

3. So far the three lists are in general agreement; but the Rev. Mr. Moore, writing in August 1902, gives what at first sight is an entirely different arrangement. He separates the Mikir people into the following five groups:—

I. E-jang. II. Tung-e. III. Kron-e. IV. Lo-e. V. Ni-e,

I. E-jang he subdivides into—

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Rongpi. | 6. Kramsa. |
| 2. Ronghang. | 7. Keap. |
| 3. Tutso. | 8. Lekthe. |
| 4. Hanse. | 9. Rongchehon. |
| 5. Bongrung. | |

II. Tung-e comprises—

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Timung. | 5. Timung-Senar. |
| 2. Tokbi. | 6. Timung-Phangchu. |
| 3. Timung-Kiling. | 7. Timung-Juiti. |
| 4. Timung-Rongphar. | 8. Toktiphi. |

III. Kron-e includes—

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <u>Teron</u> . | 3. <u>Teron-Langne</u> . |
| 2. <u>Teron-Kongkat</u> . | |

IV. Lo-e is divided into—

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <u>Be</u> . | 4. <u>Ingjai</u> . |
| 2. <u>Kro</u> . | 5. <u>Ingnar</u> . |
| 3. <u>Terang</u> . | |

V. Ni-e comprises—

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. <u>Ingti</u> . | 3. <u>Taro</u> . |
| 2. <u>Ingleng</u> . | |

Comparing the subdivisions with those given by Mr. Stack, we perceive that five of the nine shown under Mr. Moore's I. E-jang (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8) are identical with Mr. Stack's Lekthe and its subdivisions; the remaining four (Rongpi, Ronghang, Rongchelon, and Keap) are all found in the census list of 1891 under Inghi, another name for Lekthe. Evidently, therefore, E-jang is the equivalent of Mr. Stack's Lekthe and the census Inghi.

Under II. Tung-e all Mr. Stack's names classed under Timung appear; of the remainder, some are found in Mr. Dundas's list, either of subdivisions or smaller sections, under Timung; Tok-tiphi is probably Mr. Dundas's Toksiki; and Timung-Kiling is the census "Keleng" (a river-name). It is clear, therefore, that Tung-e is the same as the Timung (Tumung) of the other lists.

III. Kron-e is evidently the small group Teron or Teran of Mr. Dundas and the census list, not found in Mr. Stack's enumeration.

IV. Lo-e is also clearly the Terang of the three other lists, which account for all the names given under it.

V. Ni-e is the equivalent of Mr. Stack's Ingti, called by the same name in the census list, and Kathar in Mr. Dundas's list (the omission of the name Kathar, or Katar, from Mr. Moore's list is somewhat noticeable).

It thus appears that all the four lists in reality agree in a remarkable manner, quite independent as they are in their origin, and that all observers concur in stating that the Mikir people are divided into five (or four) great exogamous groups, whether situated in the Mikir Hills, in North Cachar, or in the Khasi Hills and the hilly country to the south of Nowgong.

IV.

RELIGION.

General character of popular belief in ghosts and spirits, and a future life—No idols, temples or shrines—Amulets—The Gods and their worship—Divination and magic—Oaths and imprecations—Funeral ceremonies—Festivities—Taboo.

BELIEFS ABOUT THE DEAD.

THE Mikirs have borrowed from the Hindu Assamese the ideas and the names of *Boikuntho* (*Vaikuntha*, Vishnu's Paradise) and *Norok* (*Naraka*, Hell); but these conceptions do not play much part in their views of a life to come. Better known, and more often mentioned, is *Jom Recho* (*Jam*, *Yama Raja*), the Lord of Spirits, with whom the dead remain below ground. His abode—the abode of the dead—is *Jom-arong*,* and the elaborate ceremonies of the funeral are the means by which the spirit of the dead gains admittance to Jom's city. Unless they are duly performed he remains outside.

They speak of having seen the *shade* (image, *arjan*) of a dead man (*ne la arjan theklok*, "I saw his shade"); a sickly man catches such glimpses in the house, on the road, etc. *Pharlo*, 'spirit, is used both of living persons and dead. *Tova nepharlo ne la-abang thek-long*, "Last night in my spirit I saw him"; where *pharlo* is the spirit of the sleeping man. When such glimpses are experienced, betel and food are set aside in the house, and after a time thrown away.

On a death occurring, the old women of the village wash and layout the body. Then one composes a chant, setting forth the parentage and life of the dead: "You will now meet your grand-parents, father, deceased brother, etc., and will stay with

* This name, which means "Jom or Yama's town," is often incorrectly written Chomarong or Chumarong.

them and eat with them." Then a separate meal of rice and a boiled egg is placed beside the body, and the dead man is invited to eat. This is done twice a day, the meal being cooked separately from the food of the family. After being offered and placed beside the corpse for a time, the food is thrown away. This goes on day by day until the funeral service is held (see below). After that there are no regular offerings, but occasionally a man or woman puts aside from his or her own share of food a portion for the dead, as, for instance, when another funeral reminds them of those who have died before.

There does not appear to be any fear of the dead coming back to troubles the living. Some people, however, it is said, are afraid to pass the burying-place of the dead after dark.

They say that a man called *Thi-reng Vang-reng* (literally, "Dead-alive come-alive") in former times used to travel between this world and Jom Recho's abode; he taught them their funeral ceremonies. At last he did not come back. Everything is different in Jom-arong. Thireng Vangreng saw the people there go out to fish, and gather instead pieces of stick. They asked him why he did not gather them too; he answered that they were not fish, but sticks. They waved over them a lighted brand, and he saw them as fish. So, too, there a crab becomes a tiger, or seems to be a tiger. Men do not stay in Jom Recho's city for ever, but are born again as children, and this goes on indefinitely (here we seem to have a borrowing from Hinduism). "The Mikirs give the names of their dead relations to children born afterwards, and say that the dead have come back; but they believe that the spirit is with Jom all the same."*

A man with unusually keen and alarming eyes is said to be possessed by a demon (*hi-i*). The phrase is *ahi-i kedo arleng*, and, of the eyes, *amek ahi-i kedo*. But the superstition of the evil eye, as prevalent elsewhere, seems to be unknown, and such a man is not avoided; rather, the *hi-i* is supposed to give him cleverness. The same phrase is used in familiar abuse to a child: *Ahi-i kedó oso*, "You devil-possessed brat!"

* Sentences enclosed in quotation marks were so written by Mr. Stack, and are probably the *ipsissima verba* of his informants.

RELIGION—DIVINITIES.

The Mikirs have no idols, temples, or shrines. Some people, however, have fetishes or amulets, called *bor*. These are pieces of stone or metal, by keeping which they become rich. Sometimes, however, a man unwittingly keeps a *bor* that brings him ill-luck and loss. A man is said to have got a *bor*, *bor kelong*; *Bor do-kokle, plang-ple-ji ma?* "If you have got a *bor*, will you not become rich?" *Bors* are not common; one gets them by chance in river, field, or jungle. Or a man dreams that he can get a *bor* in such a place, and finds it there. But these amulets are not objects of worship or propitiation.

The Gods—*Arnam-atum*—are innumerable, and are worshipped in different ways, at different times, and in different places. The names of some of the most important are given below.

Arnam Kethe, in spite of his name, which means "The Great God," has no definite authority over the other Gods. He is a house-god, and is sacrificed to once in three years, if no occasion (in consequence of trouble) arises meanwhile. His appropriate offering is a pig. The family obtain *Arnam Kethe* by asking him to stay with them, and by castrating a young pig, to be sacrificed three years later. All families have not got *Arnam Kethe* to stay with them, nor does he always come when invited. If a man is sick, and the *uche* (diviner) declares that *Arnam Kethe* wishes to join the household, the ceremony is performed, but no offerings are made at the time. After three years—or earlier, if there is any sickness in the family—the pig is killed, and a general feast, with rice, beer, and spirits, given to the village. A booth of leaves is built in the three days before; the first day is devoted to cutting the posts for the booth, and is called *phong-rong keteng*; the second, to garlanding leaves round the posts, called *phong-rong ketom*; and on the third day leaves are laid out for the rice, rice-flour (*pithaguri*, Ass.) is sprinkled about the ground, and plantains and other trees are planted around the booth. All these preparations are done in the early morning before eating. Then follows the ceremony—*Arnam Kethe karakli*. First, there is the invocation: "To-day has come, and now we will give you your

three-years' offering; accept it kindly!" Fowls are killed, and then the pig (all animals killed in sacrifice are beheaded with one stroke of a heavy knife delivered from above). The liver, heart, and lights of both are cooked for the god. Then the hoof, ear, and tail of the pig are offered, then pieces of cooked meat. Afterwards the sacrificers eat *tekar kethi* or *tekar-so*, then *tekar-pi*. Both are pieces of flesh, the first smaller, the latter larger, eaten with rice-beer. Then all the company set to and eat rice and flesh together. Sometimes three or four pigs and forty different kinds of vegetables are consumed at the sacrificial feast. The women get sixfold or ninefold the shares of the men, and carry them home bound up in leaves (*an-bor* and *ok-bor*).

Peng is also a household god. His offering is a goat, sacrificed yearly, in the *tikup* or space before the house. Some neighbours are invited to the sacrificial feast. *Peng* lives in the house, *Arnam Kethe* in heaven. *Peng* is also sacrificed to in sickness. Very few houses have not *Peng*. Maize, rice, and a gourd of rice-beer are placed for him above the veranda of the house, and the firstfruits of the harvest are offered to him. "But these two gods only come to eat, and families avoid taking them if they can."

Hemphu ("head of the house," "householder") owns all the Mikir people. Everybody can sacrifice to him at any time, and pray for deliverance from sickness. *Mukrang* is similar to *Hemphu*, but slightly lower in dignity. These two gods, the preservers of men, are approached by the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. *Hemphu* must be invoked first in every sacrifice, being the peculiar owner of men.

Rek-anglong ("the mountain of the community") or *Inglong-pi* ("great mountain") is a house-god, but is worshipped in the field, and only men eat the sacrifice, which is a fowl or a goat once a year. He is the god of the hill they live on, the *Deus loci*, with whom they have to be at peace; but not every family in the village need have him.

Arnam paro ("the hundred god") is the name of a god who takes a hundred shares of rice, *pithaguri*, betel-nut, and the red spathe of the plantain tree cut up. He is worshipped with a white goat or a white fowl as the sacrifice. He and *Rek-anglong*

figure particularly in the *Rongker*, or great annual village festival, celebrated in June at the beginning of the year's cultivation. (*Arnam-paro* seems to be a collective name, to include all gods whom it may concern. Kamakhya, the Hindu goddess of Nilachal above Gauhati, is mentioned as one of the deities included in *Arnam-paro*.)

The gods named above are all invoked and propitiated to grant prosperity and avert misfortune, both generally and specially. There are, besides, numerous gods who take their names from the special diseases over which they preside or which they are asked to avert; such are—

Chomang-ase ("Khasi fever"), a Khasi god, who lives in the house and is propitiated with a goat; he is comparatively rare. This god appears to be identical with *Keche-ase*, which is the rheumatism. (*Chomang* is the name for the interior Khasis, *Keche* for those immediately in contact with the Mikirs.)

Ajo-ase ("the night fever") is the deity of cholera (*ma-vur* or *pok-avur*). The sacrifice to him is two fowls and many eggs, and is offered at night, on the path outside the village. The whole village subscribes to furnish the offering, and with the eatables are combined a load of cotton, a basket of chillies, an offering a yams, and the *image of a gun* (because cholera is thought to be a British disease); also sesamum (*nempo*), many bundles consisting of six sticks of a soft wood called *cheknam* (perhaps the cotton tree, *bombax*) tied together, many bundles of the false cane (*ingsu*), and double wedges of *cheknam* wood. The god is invoked: "Don't come this way, go that way!" The eatables are eaten, and the other articles thrown away. The houses are then beaten with rods of *cheknam* and *ingsu*.

So-meme ("evil pain") is the god to whom barren women have recourse.

Recurring sicknesses and troubles are ascribed to *Theng-thon* or *Ok-langno*, a devil (*hi-i*); he is propitiated with a goat and a pig, or two or three fowls. A man gasping in sickness is being strangled by *Theng-thon*. If, notwithstanding invocations of the gods, sickness grows worse, a sacrifice is offered to *Theng-thon* without summoning the diviner or *sang-kelang-abang*.

Mr. Stack gives the following as the names of the chief diseases (besides those already mentioned), the averting of which

forms the main object of worship: goitre, *phun-kang* ("swollen throat"); phthisis, *si-i* (also cough); stone, *ingthak*; diarrhoea, *pok-kangsi*; rheumatism, *keche-ase* ("Khasi fever"); neuralgia, *bab ase*; small-pox, *pi-amir* ("the Mother's flowers"); black leprosy, *si-i*; white leprosy, *arok*; elephantiasis, *keng-tong* (*keng*, leg; *ingtung*, funnel-shaped basket); dysentery, *pok kapavi* ("bleeding of belly").

The house-gods come down in the family; no others would be sacrificed to if family were uniformly prosperous.

All natural objects of a striking or imposing character have their divinity. The sun (*arni*) and moon (*chiklo*) are regarded as divine, but are not specially propitiated. But localities of an impressive kind, such as mountains,* waterfalls, deep pools in rivers, great boulders, have each their *arnam*, who is concerned in the affairs of men and has to be placated by sacrifice. The expression *arnam do*, used of a place, means, generally, to be haunted by something felt as mighty or terrible. All waterfalls (*langsun*), in particular, have their *arnams*. In Baguri mauza there are two great waterfalls in the Diyaung river which are specially venerated as divine; one of these, the *Lang-kangtong* ("Rolling-down water"), can be heard half a day's journey off. Similarly, there are places where a river goes underground (*lang-lut*); these also have their *arnam*.† Such local divinities of the jungle are propitiated chiefly to avert mischief from tigers, which are a terrible plague in many parts of the Mikir hills.

There is no worship of trees or animals.

Lam-aphu, "the head or master of words," is a deity probably of recent origin. He is the god sacrificed to by a man who has

* Sir Joseph Hooker (*Himalayan Journals*, ed. 1855, vol. ii. p. 182) relates that at the Donkia Pass, one of his servants, a Lepcha, being taken ill, "a Lama of our party offered up prayers to Kinchinjhow for his recovery." Perching a saddle on a stone, and burning incense before it, "he scattered rice to the winds, invoking Kinchin, Donkia, and all the neighbouring peaks."

† Such worship of objects and places of an impressive character is, of course, common throughout India. Thus, in the Pachmarhi Hills the writer has seen flowers and red lead (*sindur*) offered at the brink of a terrible gulf of the kind so common in the plateau. Again, at Balharpur, in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces, he has seen worship offered to a bastion in a solidly built ruined fort adjoining the village.—(Note by Editor.)

a case in court; the sacrifice is one young cock, which should be offered at night, secretly, by the sacrificer alone, in a secret place.

It should be mentioned that, following an ill-sounding idiom of the Assamese, the Mikirs use "*Arnam*" as a common (propitiatory) form of address to human beings (Assamese, *deuta*). *P>-arnam-po* ("god-father") to a man, and *pe-arnam-pi* ("god-mother") to a woman, are the phrases. In one of the stories given in the next Section, the king is addressed as *Hemphu Arnam*, "Lord God."

DIVINATION AND MAGIC.

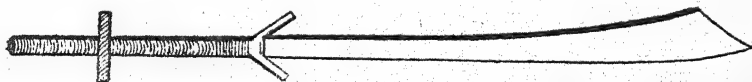
Sickness, if long continued or severe, is frequently attributed to witchcraft (*maja*). A man suffering from long sickness is said to be *maja kelong*—"witchcraft has got hold of him." To discover the author of the spell, or the god or demon who has brought the trouble and must be propitiated, the services of a diviner are necessary. *Uche*, feminine *uche-pi* (Hindi, *ojha*), is the general name for the cunning in such things. Of these there are two grades—the humbler, whose craft is acquired merely by instruction and practice, and the higher, who works under the inspiration or *afflatus* of divine powers. The former is the *sang-kelang abang*, "the man who looks at rice," in Assamese, *mangal-sua*; the latter, invariably a woman, is the *lodet* or *lodet-pi*. In serious sickness or distress the latter is called in; on ordinary and less important occasions, the former.

The *sang-kelang abang* picks out of the pot the unbroken grains of rice (*sang*), and places them, by fives and tens, in pentacle or other fashion. He then counts by couples. If in the groups the odd numbers predominate, the omen is good. If there are no odd grains over, it is very bad. Then all are swept together again, and arranged in three or four heaps. Each heap is counted out, a god being named, and if after the counting, again by couples, three single grains remain, the god named is the one to be propitiated. If three grains do not remain, the process is tried over again. Cowries (*chobai*) are sometimes used instead of rice in the same way. Also, with cowries a handful is taken and spread

out, and the number with the slits upwards counted ; if they are the majority, the omen is good.*

Another mode of divination used by the *mangalsua* is to arrange in a circle, equidistant from a point marked on a board (*inghoi*), as many little heaps of clay as there are gods suspected in the case, each heap being called by the name of its god. An egg is then sharply thrown into the middle of the board at the marked point. When it breaks and the yolk is scattered, that clay heap which receives the largest splash of yolk, or towards which the largest and longest splash points, indicates the god responsible for the affliction.†

Another mode is to use the *nok-jir*, which is a long-handled iron *dao* with a cross-piece at the handle and two inclined projecting pieces higher up, before the blade, thus:—



This is held upright in the hand. It shakes of itself when the charm is recited and the *nok-jir* invoked to become inspired: *Nang uche vang-phlot!* "Let your spirit (*uche*) come!" The holder asks whether the sick person will recover, and goes over the names of the possibly responsible gods, and the *nokjir* shakes at the right answer and name. The charm (the Assamese word *montro* is used) recites the making of the *nokjir*, and ends—"if you tell lies, you will be broken up and made into needles" (—the lowest use to which iron can be put, to sew women's petticoats!).‡

The *Lodet* is an ordinary woman (not belonging to any particular family or *kur*), who feels the divine *afflatus*, and, when it is upon her, yawns continually and calls out the names and the will of the gods. Another *lodetpi* is summoned in to question her, to ascertain if her possession is really divine; a *sang-kelang abang* may also be consulted. If the report is favourable, a

* So also among the Khasis; see *Khasi Monograph*, p. 119, bottom.

† This also is evidently borrowed from the Khasis. See *Monograph*, p. 221.

‡ Compare the Khasi methods of divination by the lime-case (*shanam*), and the bow (*Monograph*, p. 119).

purificatory offering of a fowl is made to Hemphu and Mukrang, the preservers of men, and the woman is accepted as a *lodetpi*.

She sits by the bewitched person (*maja-kelong*), and the neighbours come in after supper. The *lodetpi* bathes her hands and feet and face in water in which the *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*, holy basil) has been steeped, and begins to shake and yawn. A gourd of rice-beer is brought, of which she drinks some, and begins to call out the names of gods, and they descend upon her. She is now inspired, and when questioned indicates, by indirect and riddling answers, the enemy who has bewitched the sufferer, or the gods who must be sacrificed to. When this is ascertained she goes away. The accusation of practising witchcraft is carried before the *me* or village assembly. The sacrifice to placate the gods proceeds next day, and is usually costly.

To bewitch a person, it is necessary to have some of his hair, or a piece of his clothes; these are buried with one egg, some bones, and some charcoal. A good *lodetpi* can produce these things by the power of her inspiration. A white cloth is tied up into the shape of a bag. She conjures the things into it, and on opening the bag next morning they are found inside. When they are thus recovered, the spirit (*karjong*) of the sufferer returns with them, and he gets well.

Charms (*pherem*) are much used for medicinal purposes, either alone or in combination with other remedies. For an ordinary stomach-ache (*pok-keso*), a little mud rubbed on the abdomen, with a muttered charm, is the specific. For rheumatism (*keche-ase*), a castor-oil leaf is struck on the place, and a charm muttered; if this fails, sacrifice must be offered to the god *Keche-ase*. The worker of these remedial measures is called *kangtok abang*, and the verb is *ingtok*. Charms are not, as a rule, carried on the person.

The expression *vur kachethat*, "to kill for oneself (a fowl) for disease," means to prevent evil by sacrifice after a dream which had previously been followed by mischance.

If a child does not thrive, it is imputed to the sin, or devil (*ahi-i*) of the maternal uncle (*ong*), or, if there is no maternal uncle, of one of the child's mother's *kur*. The family apply to the person held to be responsible, and he gives a brass ring to be hung round the child's neck, and a rice-ball (*an adum*).

There is no entertaining of friends on recovery from sickness. The sick person is tended by his wife and relations.

Tekere, Thekere, means a man who knows a spell or *montro*, especially one which protects him against tigers (*teke*).

OATHS AND ORDEALS.

Oaths and imprecations take the place of ordeals. Earth is put on the head, and the man says—"May I be like this dust!" A tiger's tooth is scraped, and the scrapings drunk in water: "May the tiger eat me!" Similarly, an elephant's tusk is scraped, and the scrapings drunk: "May the elephant trample me to death!" (*Ingnar ne pedong-nang!*) The copper ring worn by the *uche* is dipped in water, and the water drunk, the man saying, "May the tiger catch me!" Another form of oath is *Tamhitni kangjir asontot ne pangjir-nang*, "May I be melted like molten copper (or pot-metal)!" Such oaths are used to confirm promises, and also to attest evidence and proclaim innocence of a charge.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The funeral is the most elaborate, costly, and important of all the ceremonies performed by the Mikirs. Such ceremonies are considered obligatory in all cases except that of a child who has been born dead, or who has died before the after-birth has left the mother; such a child is buried without any ceremony. Victims of small-pox or cholera are buried shortly after death, but the funeral service is performed for them later on, the bones being sometimes dug up and duly cremated. When a person is killed by a tiger, if the body or clothes are found, they are buried at a distance from the village, because the tiger is supposed to visit the burial-place. Such persons cannot gain admittance to *Jom-arong* unless there are elaborate funeral ceremonies performed for them. Being killed by a tiger is generally imputed to the victim's sin. His spirit is believed to dwell in the most dreary of the places where dead men's spirits go; there is no notion

(such as is found among some races in India) that it animates the tiger who killed him. Except in these cases the dead are disposed of by cremation, the burnt bones being afterwards buried.

The elaborateness of the funeral depends on the means of the family. The description which follows applies to a case where the household is well-to-do. In any case the body is kept in the house for one day after death; if a regular service is held, it may lie as long as from a week to twelve days.

The body lies in the *kut*. The persons occupied with the funeral ceremonies live in the *hong-pharla*; the rest of the family cook and eat in the *kam*, but the officiants, male and female, must go across a stream or creek to cook and eat. As already mentioned, the old women of the family wash and lay out the corpse. Then beer is prepared, rice husked and got ready, and a convenient day fixed for the service. If the house has not a big enough *hong* (front platform), the neighbours join and build one on to it. From the date of the death, each household in the village gives a man to sleep in the house (in the *hong-pharla*). When it is settled that the beer and rice required can be provided in four or five days, the village lads are summoned about 8 o'clock in the evening. They bring their drum (*cheng*), and drum up to the *tikup* (front yard); they drum there awhile, and then, while one keeps time with the drum, dance by pairs, holding in their left hands shields (*chongkechengnan*), and in their right hands sticks. They go round twice in a circle; then they all dance round, holding each the other's hands (this is called *chomang-kar*, "Khasi dance"). After an hour spent in this way they go back to the *gaonbura's* house to sleep. Early next morning they come without beat of drum, and dance the *chomang-kan* to the drum; they then dance the shield-dance as before (*chong-kechengnan*) to the drum, and go home. Next night they come as before, but a little later, and go through the same ceremonies. Next morning they proceed as before, and in the usual course they kill a fowl and roast it in pieces on spits in the *tikup*, and eat it there. The third and last night is that of the *kan-pi* ("great dance").

Meantime, during the day, the *risomar* have to work at getting ready the *tele*—the stout bamboo to which the corpse is to be slung: the *banjar*—a bamboo ornamented with curied shavings (*bu*) hung in tufts to projecting arms; and the *seroso*—

shorter bamboo sticks similarly ornamented and tipped with leaves. The men have to go to the *theri* (village burning-place) and prepare there a *chang* or platform, with logs for burning the body arranged under it; this *chang* is built in a peculiar manner, known only to adepts. The *uchepi* (a skilled old woman) is summoned to prepare the *viaticum* for the dead, and the *duhuidi*, with an assistant, who beat the two drums which have now been hung up in the *kam-athengthot*: the *duhuidi* is one skilled in tolling on these drums. Then comes the girl called *obokpi* (not necessarily a maid), that is, the "carrier" of the dead man; but in place of the dead she carries on her back a gourd for holding beer; she must belong to his mother's *kur*. Also the *nihu*, the maternal uncle or other male representative of the mother's *kur*, and the *ingjir-arlo*, sister's husband, or father's sister's husband, of the deceased; it is his office to kill the goat for the dead, if they can afford one.

About midnight the villagers, with torches, drums, and the attendant *risomar*, assemble in the *tikup*. The neighbouring villages, if so minded, may come too (*arong ari* is the phrase for the contingents as they arrive). Each contingent is welcomed with the drum, and joins in the drumming concert; the lads and girls are dressed in their best, and provided with betel. The chief of the village lads (*kleng-sarpo*) then calls the other *risomar* to *touch* (not taste) the beer, *hor kacheme*.* Then follows the shield-dance, first by the *risomar* of the village, then by the outside contingents in order of arrival or merit. Then all together take hands and dance in a circle. The young women join in the line, taking hold of the lads' coats, while the lads take hold of them by the belt (*vankok*); the girls cover their heads and faces with a black scarf (*jiso-ke-ik*): the petticoat is a red-striped Mikir *eri* cloth. Near the first cock-crow, seven young men go up on the *hong* or house-platform from the dancing, with the *duhuidi* and his assistant; one lad goes in and dances in the inside of *kam*, in the space by the partition-wall (*noksek*), while the six others stand at the door (*hongthu*, or *inghap angho* = "door's mouth"), and dance there. The six whoop three times together as they dance. After a quarter of an hour they return to the circle of dancers in the

* Mr. Stack notes that there was some reluctance on the part of his informant to explain what was meant.

tikup. At dawn they go up again, and dance till sunrise. The circle breaks up at daylight, and then follows the shield-dance. Then all the drums go round the circle where they dance ten to twenty times, playing a different tune each time. Then, while they all drum standing, a pig is brought forth, tied up for killing. The *risomar* in successive parties recount over the tied-up pig the history of the funeral service; this is called *phak aphu kacholang*. Then the pig is killed and cut up for the *risomar*, and for the men engaged in the funeral service. The latter have to cook and eat their shares of the meat, which is given in leaf-bundles (*ok-bor*) or on spits (*ok-kron*), beyond the river. The *risomar* also get their shares in the same way, and cook them in the dancing-ring. A small piece of flesh is cooked by the *uchepi* for the dead man, and this is put in the plate of the dead and carried by the *ingjir-arlo* up to the body in the *kut*, the *duhuidi* tolling the drum as he goes in; this ceremony is called *kasole*. Meantime the old experienced men, braving the horrid stench, have been performing certain rites* about the body. The remainder of the cooked flesh, with rice, is distributed to the young girls. The *risomar* then, provided with rice, beer, salt, chillies, and greens from the dead man's house, disperse to houses in the village to eat, and the officiants go off beyond the river to prepare and eat their food. This part of the ceremony is called *riso kachiru*, "the lads' entertainment."

Then two or three of the *risomar* take a cock on the road to the burning-place, and kill, cook, and eat it there. A small pig is killed by the other lads where they dance, and the head and one leg are sent to the road-side *risomar*. The blood is caught in a bamboo-joint, and smeared on the *banjar*, which is set up in the road like a maypole; it is a thick bamboo about seven feet long, with sticks projecting on three sides, from which hang tassels of curled bamboo shavings (*banjar abu*). These shavings also are smeared with the blood, so as to look flowers like flowers. Six shorter pieces of bamboo, three feet long, also ornamented with tufts of shavings, are called *serosos*, and these too are smeared with blood: likewise the *tele* for carrying the corpse to the pyre. Six young men, each taking a *seroso*, dance round the *banjar*.

* Not further explained.

The *uchepi* has now prepared all the food. The *obokpi* takes the beer-gourd on her back, and one egg in her hand, and the *uchepi* a beer-gourd, and they break the egg and the gourd against the *tele* as it lies upon the house-ladder (*dondon*). The *duhuidi* tolls the drum, and dancing as before takes place on the *hong* and in the *kam*, but not with the *serosos*. The *uchepi* and the *obokpi* then go on to the burning-place. The *tele* is now taken up by the old men into the house, and the corpse tied to it and brought down; all the dead man's clothes are hung over the bamboo. Then a pair of ducks and another of pigeons are killed by the *nihu*, and a goat by the *ingjir-arlo*, each previously going thrice round the dancing circle with the sun. The goat is called *hongvat-abi*; the heads are thrown to the *risomar*, the rest of the meat kept and cooked later on by those who remain. Preceded by the *duhuidi* and his assistant tolling the drums, they all march in procession, carrying the *banjar* and *serosos*, to the burning-place. The body is untied from the *tele* and placed on the pyre, which is lighted. While the pyre is burning, knowing women sing the *kacharhe*—a chant describing the dead man's life, whither he is going on leaving this earth, how he will see his dead relations, and the messages he has to carry to them. A few of the lads dance while the cremation is proceeding.

The body is thoroughly burnt, and the bones that remain are tied up in a cloth and buried. The *tele* is either laid down whole or cut into three pieces, which are split again into six, and placed in the little house which is then erected over the grave. This is built with the *banjar* and the *serosos*, the former being in the middle and the latter used as props for the roof. The food prepared by the *uchepi* is now placed on a flat stone over the grave, and the ceremony is at an end.

The company, returning, clean and wash the house, and cook and eat and drink on the *hong*. On coming back from the cremation, the *nihu* gets some money, clothes, salt, and a knife. He shares the salt with his own *kur*, if any are present. The *ingjir-arlo* next morning has to clean up the dancing ring (*rong-ru kangru*, or *tikup karkok*).

The ceremonies of the funeral are performed by the neighbours and cunning men and women of the village, and the old people of the family. The wife, children, parents, brothers and

sisters of the dead sit beside him and mourn, in spite of corruption, or even sleep beside the decomposing corpse. "It is genuine grief, a national characteristic. Even after the funeral service, they remember and mourn; and the death of another renews their grief." The mourners continue their lamentation, heedless of the dancing.

If a great man, such as a *mauzadar* (*bikhoya*) or leading *gaonbura* (*sarlur*, *sarthe*), dies, in addition to the ceremonial described above, there is another, called *Langtuk* ("the well"). A well or pit is dug outside the village, four-square, with sides ten to fifteen feet: it need not be carried down to the water; stairs are made to the bottom. At the corners are planted various trees. A tall upright stone (*long-chong*) and a broad flat stone (*long-pak*), supported on short uprights, are brought and set up, as in the Khasi hills. The *risomar* come and dance there the whole day, with manifold apparatus. The *uchepi* sings and places food of different kinds on the flat stone for the dead man; his clothes and umbrella are put upon the tall stone, with flowers. A fowl is killed for the well at the bottom of the pit, and a goat, two ducks, and two pigeons are killed at the top, and their heads thrown to the *risomar*. Then the people of thirty to forty villages assemble. The *uchepi* sings extemporaneously before the memorial stone, and the people dance and eat there until dark. After dark the company go to the house and perform the usual service already described. The *langtuk* is very costly, for people have to be fed at two places, and double the quantity of food for an ordinary funeral has to be provided.

FESTIVITIES.

The *Rongker* is the annual compulsory village festival, held at the time of the beginning of cultivation (June), or in some villages during the cold season. Goats and fowls are sacrificed. *Arnam-paro* gets a goat, and so do the local gods of hills and rivers. A small village will sacrifice two or three goats, a large village ten or twelve. The flesh of the victims is eaten, with rice and rice-beer, but only men can partake of the sacrifice. They must sleep on the *hong* apart from their wives that night.

The gods are invoked in the following terms : "We live in your district : save us and help us ! send no tigers or sickness, prosper our crops and keep us in good health, and year by year we will sacrifice like this. We depend wholly upon you !" There is no music or dancing at the *Rongker*.

At harvest-home there is no sacrifice, but the whole village help mutually in getting the crops in, and feast together on rice and beer, and dried fish and dried flesh saved up against this celebration, or fresh fish if procurable. No animals are killed, except in some houses a fowl, lest the paddy brought home should decrease ; this fowl is eaten. On this occasion there is a little dancing on the *hong*, but with this exception music and dancing take place *only at funerals*.

Occasionally there is a *Rongker-pi* ("great *Rongker*") for the whole *mauza*, as, for instance, to expel man-eating tigers. Each village, headed by its *gaonbura*, brings its contribution to the great sacrifice, and repairs to the *mauzadar's* or *borgaonbura's* house, where the feast is celebrated.

Mr. Stack's notes do not mention the observance by the Mikirs of general *tabus*, called in Assamese *genna*, such as are common among the Naga tribes ;* but personal *tabus* of various kinds, entailing separate eating of food and abstinence from commerce of the sexes, have already been indicated. Women during menstruation are said to be unclean and unable to touch the cooking-pots.

* See, however, what is said above as to the *Rongker*, which agrees with the observances elsewhere known as *gennas*.

V.

FOLK-LORE AND FOLK-TALES.

Three Mikir stories—Legend of creation (Mr. Allen).

THE Mikirs are fond of telling stories, but the historical material which they contain does not appear to be of very ancient date. Reference has already been made to the deliverance of the Arlengs from slavery to the Khasis, and their contests with the Kacharis under the leadership of Thong-Nokbe; also to their early relations with the Ahoms. They have also myths dealing with the creation of the earth and man, one of which has been related by Mr. Allen, of the American Presbyterian Mission, and will be found in the Appendix to this Section; it seems doubtful, however, whether it is a genuine legend, or due to imagination stimulated by questions: the concluding episode strongly resembles the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel. These legends have not been handled by Mr. Stack, and are therefore not reproduced here. The Rev. Mr. Moore notes that "Mikir stories in general do not agree very minutely," and this appears to be particularly the case in respect of tales of the intervention of the gods in human affairs.

Mr. Stack wrote down, chiefly from the dictation of a Mikir named Sardoka, who had become a Christian, a number of excellent stories, which well deserve separate publication. Three specimens of these are given here. They correspond in every respect, as will be seen, with the general characteristics of folk-literature all over the world. Folk-tales containing the same incidents, as it well known, are found from Iceland to Japan, from Alaska to Patagonia. The original source of such a tale is now incapable of identification. The same sequence of events

and general form recur everywhere; what is distinctive and characteristic is not the progress of incident, but the local dressing, the narrator's point of view, the colour of his daily life which he lends to the details of the story.

The first of the three specimens is the favourite Indian form of a sequence, well known in Sanskrit literature, but quite as popular in Europe and in general folk-lore. It is given here, because another version of the same narrative has been included by Dr. Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey*, vol. iii, Part III, p. 223, as found among the Aimol Kukis, a race of Tibeto-Burmans dwelling, far away from the Mikir country, in the hills bordering the valley of Manipur on the east.

The second specimen tells of the adventures of an orphan, the son of a widow, a stock figure in Mikir folk-tales, and abounds in local colour. Here too the incidents in part coincide with those of a folk-tale belonging to a very distant country, the part of Kumaon bordering on Tibet, which will be found in vol. iii., Part I. of the *Linguistic Survey*, pp. 483, 495, 510, 522.

The third is a remarkably complete and interesting version of the wide-spread folk-tale of the Swan-maidens. It was most probably derived from some Indian source, though, so far as known, no version of the tale in its entirety, as told by Hindus, has yet been published. The name of the hero, *Harata-Kunwar*, may be the Indian *Sarat-Kumar*, and is evidently not Mikir. But all the setting—the colloquies of the six brothers and their father, the attempt on Harata-Kunwar's life, his methods in defeating his treacherous kinsmen, his device for winning his fairy wife, and many other features of the story—seems genuinely local. The narrative is an excellent specimen of Mikir diction, and shows no little skill in composition. In vol. iii. Part II. of the *Linguistic Survey*, there will be found, at pp. 218-220, a short story, entitled, "How Jesu got a goddess for his wife," which is identical in motive with this tale of Harata-Kunwar. It is current among the Angami Nagas, a race much less influenced by Hindu culture than the Mikirs.

The original Mikir text of these tales will be found in the next Section; the English translation here given is as literal as it was possible to make it. In the *Linguistic Survey*, vol. iii. Part II. pp. 395—403, two other short stories of the same character, both text and translation, have been printed. The

second of these, the story of the clever swindler Tenton, evidently belongs to the cycle of tales called *Tenton-Charit*, mentioned, in its Assamese version, as existing in manuscript by Mr. E. A. Gait, at page 68 of his *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, 1897.

1. STORY OF A FROG.

One day a big black ant went to carry a meal of rice to his uncle. A frog sat down in the road and blocked it. The ant said, "Please make way for me, frog; I want to carry this rice to my uncle." The frog answered, "You can get by if you creep under me. Every one has to pass under me who goes this way." The ant said, "My uncle's rice is tied up in a bundle of leaves; how can I possibly creep under you?" But the frog would not give way, so the ant would not go. In this manner things went on till noon. Then the ant said, "Oh, my uncle will be hungry for his rice and angry with me because he does not get it!" And he crept under the frog. Then the frog sat down flat on the top of the ant. Thereupon the ant gave the frog a sharp bite in the loins. Then the frog, becoming angry, jumped on the ladder of a big old squirrel, and broke it. The old squirrel, becoming angry, cut in two the stem of a gourd.* The gourd, becoming angry, fell plump on the back of a wild boar. The wild boar, becoming angry, rooted up a plantain-tree. The plantain-tree, becoming angry, fell upon a sparrow's† nest and broke it. The sparrow, becoming angry, flew into the ear of a deaf elephant.

* "Gourd": the word *hanthar* in the original is explained by Mr. Stack as the name of a "a creeper, with a fruit as big as a small pumkin, with a hard kernel in soft rind; the kernel is the size of a mango-stone; the marrow inside is in two slices; when washed, it loses its bitter taste, and can be fried, oil exuding. It is a favourite dish with the Mikirs." It is, therefore, not really a gourd, but I am unable to identify the species.

† "Sparrow": *vo-ar-bipi*, explained as a small bird, the size of a sparrow. In the Aimol version the corresponding word is rendered "bat"; but a bat in Mikir is *vo-arplak*, and a bat has no nest (*tar*) as the bird has here.

The deaf elephant, becoming angry, rooted up a rock. The rock, becoming angry, rolled down and killed the Raja's son.

Then the Raja held a court to try the case. "Who is it that killed my son?" "Oh, the rack rolled down and killed him," they said. So they shmmoned the rock "O rock, rock ! why did you roll down and slay my son?" The rock answered, "Oh, Lord God King ! how was I to help rolling down and killing him ? The deaf elephant uprooted me on a sudden from my place, and them gave me a push. As for me, I have no hands or legs ; how then could I withstand him ? Your son being in the way where I was rolling down, I rolled upon him and killed him."

Then the Raja said, "Oh, then that deaf elephant was the cause of all this trouble," and summoned the elephant. "O elephant, elephant ! what did you root up the rock for ?" The elephant answered, "Oh ! how could I help uprooting it, Lord God ? The sparrow flew into my ear, and I lost all control of myself, and so I tore up the rock."

Then the Raja said, "Oh, then that sparrow was the cause of it all," and summoned the sparrow. "O sparrow, sparrow ! why did you fly into the elephant's ear ?" The sparrow answered, "Oh, Lord, how could I help it ? The plantain stalk fell upon my nest and smashed it, and being very disturbed in mind, I flew into the elephant's ear."

Then the Raja said, "Oh ! then that plantain-tree was the cause of the trouble," and called the plantain. "O plantain, plantain ! what did you tumble on the sparrow's nest and smash it for ?" The plantain answered, "Oh, how could I help it, Lord God ? The wild boar tore me up out of the ground, and I had no root left at all. How was I to go on standing in my place ? I have neither hands nor feet."

"Oh ! then that pig was the cause of it all," the Raja said, and summoned the pig. "O pig, pig ! what did you tear up the plantain for ?" The pig answered, "How could I help it ? As I was feeding quietly by myself, the gourd fell plump on my back. I was in great pain, and therefore tore up the plantain tree."

Then the Raja said, "Oh, the gourd caused all this trouble," and summoned the gourd. "O gourd, gourd ! what did you tumble on the wild boar's back for ?" "How was I to help it,

Lord God ? The squirrel cut through my stem. I have neither hands nor feet, nothing but a stalk ; if that is cut through, I cannot but fall. So I was obliged to tumble on the wild boar's back."

Then the Raja said, "Oh, that squirrel caused all the mischief," and summoned the squirrel. "O squirrel, squirrel ! what did you cut through the stem of the gourd for ?" The squirrel answered, "Oh, how could I help it, Lord God ? The frog jumped on my ladder and broke it. Then I had no road to get out, and I had to cut the stalk of the gourd."

The Raja said, "Oh, then that frog caused the mischief," and summoned the frog. "O frog, frog ! what did you jump on the squirrel's ladder and break it for ?" The frog answered, "How was I to help it ? A big black ant bit me sharply in the loins, and with the pain of the bite, not knowing what I was doing, I jumped on the squirrel's ladder and broke it."

Again the Raja said, "Oh, it was the ant that caused all the trouble," and summoned the ant. "O ant, ant ! what did you bite the frog in the loins for ?" The ant said, "How could I help biting him ? In the morning I was carrying my uncle's rice along the road. The frog sat down and blocked the way. I said, 'Please make room for me to pass.' 'Creep under me,' said he. I crept under him, and he sat down tight on the top of me. That was why I bit his loins."

Then said the king, "You are both of you guilty." They tied the ant fast with a hair from a man's head ; so now his waist is very small. The frog they beat severely with a stinging-nettle,* so now he is spotty all over.

2. STORY OF AN ORPHAN AND HIS UNCLES.

Once upon a time a widow woman had an only son. His mother had six brothers. One day at evening his uncles said to the orphan, "Nephew, let us go and set up a fish-trap."† So

* "Stinging-nettle" : *tarme-langbong* ; this is probably not a nettle (*urtica*), but some other kind of blistering plant found in the Assam jungles ; *tarme* means a creeper, *langbong* a vessel-made of bamboo to hold water.

† Fish-trap, *ru* : a bamboo cage placed in an opening in a weir or dam

the orphan went with them. Then the six brothers, his uncles, having built a good weir up-stream, set the trap. The orphan, having put together a few stones down-stream, below his uncle's trap-weir, set his own trap carelessly in the middle of them, and returned home. The next morning they all come to look at their traps. The uncles' trap, though very well put together, had not caught so much as a cray-fish; as for the orphan's trap, it was quite full of fish. Then the uncles said, "Nephew, we will set up our trap here; do you go down-stream and set up your trap again." Then, after the uncles had set up their trap in the orphan's trap-weir, the orphan again set up his trap down-stream. But again the fish entered it just in the same way; while not one fish had got into the uncles' trap, the orphan's trap was quite full of fish. Every morning the uncles continued to take for themselves the place where the orphan's trap had been. At last the orphan, becoming very tired of continually setting up his trap in a different place, one morning, instead of fixing the trap in the stream, placed it on a clump of grass and left it there. Next morning his uncles came and called to the orphan: "Nephew, let us go and look at the traps." The orphan answered, "For my part, I have not set up my trap at all; nevertheless I will go with you as your companion." So saying, he went with them. Then he went to look at his trap, and found that a wood-pigeon had got inside it. He tied this wood-pigeon with a noose and brought it home.

That orphan had one calf; you could not imagine how fat and sleek it was. His uncles, being unable through envy to look at that calf, killed it. Then the orphan, having taken off the calf's skin, took one leg and secretly hid it in the house of a rich brahman who lived at a distance. Then the orphan said, "Oh! how strongly the house smells of cow's flesh!" The brahman, becoming angry, said, "May a tiger eat you, you

built of stones or constructed of wattled boughs, so that the fish entering cannot get out. The same word is used later (see note p. 53) for the iron cage (*ingchin aru*) in which the orphan is confined.

* "May a tiger eat you, you wicked boy!" *Teke nang kordutpi a-oso*, literally, "You tiger-bitten boy!" *pi* is a syllable used in abuse, as *po* ("father") is used in the opposite sense, e.g. *po-arnam-po*, "My good sir!" literally, father good father; lowerdown, addressing a girl, *pe* ("mother") is similarly used: "*pe-arnam-pi*," "dear girl!"

wicked boy!* How should there be any cow's flesh here? I am a brahman—produce it, if you can: if you cannot, I will take your life." The orphan said, "Very well, I will make a search." He began to search in a careless, lounging way; but coming to the place where he had hidden the calf's leg, he suddenly pulled in out. "See, this is cow's flesh," said he; "I told you so." Then the brahman, fearing lest, if other people came in and saw this, his caste would be destroyed, said to the orphan, "Orphan, my good sir! don't tell any one. I will give you a cloth-full of money."* So saying, he gave him a cloth-full of silver, which the orphan took with him to his home. When he arrived there, he said to his mother: "Go and ask my uncles for their basket." His mother went and called out: "Brothers! your nephew says he wants a basket." Then the widow's brothers, having given her a basket, said among themselves, "What does he want to do with the basket? Go and watch." So they sent the youngest of them, and he went and watched, and saw the orphan measuring the money with the basket. Then the one who had watched returned home and told his brothers: "Where did that nephew of ours get all this money? He is actually measuring the rupees with a basket!" After they had finished measuring the money, the orphan's mother went and returned the basket. Her brothers said to her, "Send our nephew here." When the widow reached her house she said to her son, "Your uncles bid me ask you to go and see them; they want to speak to you." So the orphan went, and his uncles asked him, "Where did you get all that money?" He answered, "It is the price of cow's flesh; I went a-selling the flesh of my cow which you killed. The people said, 'There is not enough of it for us,' and they all bade me to bring more." His uncles asked him again, "Then if we go selling cow's flesh, they will take more of it?" The orphan replied, "Certainly they will take more; you have many cows, and if you kill them all and go and sell their flesh, how much money will you bring back!" Then each one of his six uncles killed a cow, and having made the flesh into loads went to sell it. The orphan explained to them, "When you arrive at the village of that rich brahman, offer your meat for

* Cloth-full, *manthung*: a cloth or wrapper (*pe*) folded cylindrically into a bag, and tied at the top and bottom with slit bamboo (*jingtak*).

sale. Call out in the village as soon as you reach it, 'Who will take more cow's flesh?'" So these six brothers, taking up their beef, went on their way, and, arriving at the brahman's village, they cried, "Who will take more cow's flesh?" The people answered, "We will take more; bring it here," and called them in. So when they arrived at the brahman's house, all the inhabitants of the village, having gathered together, seized those six brothers who had come to sell cow's flesh, and having tied their hands, beat them soundly, and said, "We are brahmans; do you dare to come here and traffic, offering cow's flesh for sale?" So saying, they let them go. Then those men who had brought the beef returned homewards, and on the way took counsel together: "Oh, how that orphan has cheated us! Not only has he caused us to kill our cattle; over and above that, he has got us skins that smart all over. As soon as we get home, let us set fire to his house!" So when they reached home, they set fire to the orphan's house. Then the orphan, having woven two baskets, collected the ashes of his burnt house, and made them into a load, and went to a distant village where the people suffered from sore eyes. In that village there was not a man who had not a pain in his eyes. When they saw the orphan coming with his load of ashes, they asked him "Why have you come hither?" The orphan answered, "Oh! when I heard that your whole village was suffering severely from sore eyes, I came to sell medicine to cure the complaint." "Oh, that is very good indeed, dear sir," said they, and all the people of the village collected a load of money, and gave it to the orphan. Then the orphan said, "Do not apply this medicine to your eyes just yet; after I have gone a bit of the way I will call out to you, 'Apply it'; then rub it in." So the orphan, having got a load of money in exchange for ashes, started for home; and when he had got a little bit of the way, the people with sore eyes called out to him, "Shall we not apply the medicine yet?" He answered "Wait a bit!"; and he continued telling them to wait so long as he was near the village. But when he arrived at a distance where he thought they could not catch him, he called out, "Now apply the medicine!" Then the sore-eyed people applied to their eyes the ashes they had bought from the orphan. As soon as the medicine touched them, their eyes began to smart as you cannot imagine! The pain in their eyes became much worse than ever

before. They said among themselves, "Oh! how that fellow has cheated us, and gone away! if he comes again, let us bind his hands fast and beat him!"

When the orphan reached home, he sent his mother again to fetch his uncles' basket. The widow went to her brothers' house, and, having lent her the basket, those six brothers said among themselves, "Go, young one, watch again; what is he going to do with the basket?" So the youngest went again secretly to watch. Again he saw the orphan measuring money; and again he went back and carried the news to his brothers: "Our nephew has returned, bringing with him much more money than the last time." Then the six brothers went to the orphan, and asked him, "Where did you get so much more money?" The orphan answered, "It is the price of the ashes of my house that you set fire to. The people in the place where I sold the ashes were crying, 'It is not enough, bring us as much more again!' Now, my house was but a little one, and so the ashes were not much. But your houses are big, and if you set fire to them and sell the ashes, how much money will you get for them! It will be more than you can possibly carry." Then the six brothers, his uncles, said one to another, "Let us too set fire to our houses." So, having burned down their houses, they gathered together the ashes, and each brother took as heavy a load as he could carry. Then the orphan explained to them: "Take the loads to the village of sore-eyed people, and, when you arrive near it, say, 'Will any one take ashes?'" So these six brothers went their way, and, when they came near the village of sore eyes, they called out, "Will any one take ashes?" Then the sore-eyed folk called out, "Bring them here." So they went into the village. As soon as they got inside, all the people bound them fast with ropes, and rubbed into their eyes the ashes which they themselves had brought, and thrashed them soundly. When the thrashing was over, the six brothers started to return home. On the way they took counsel again together: "Oh, how that villain has deceived us! Not only has he got us smarting skins; he has, over and above that, caused us to burn down our houses and our harvests. Now, immediately we get home, let us make him fast in an iron cage,* and throw him into the river."

* "Iron cage": see note on p. 48 above.

So when they got home they seized the orphan, and having shut him up in an iron cage they took him to the bank of a great pool in a river in the jungle. Then they said, "In a little while we will drown him; now there is no chance for him to escape us, so let us go and eat our rice." So saying, they went to eat their food. When they had gone away, a certain king's son, who was hunting deer, came by. When he arrived where the orphan was, he asked him, "What is the reason why you are tied up in that iron cage?" The orphan answered, "My uncles have a daughter, so lovely! You cannot imagine how fair she is. They tell me to marry her, but I always answer that I will not. So my uncles, becoming angry, have shut me up in this cage." Then the king's son said, "Oh! then can I get her to wife?" "If you get into this cage and stay there, you will be able to get her," the orphan answered; "after a while my uncles will come, and will say, 'Have you nothing more to say?' If they ask you this, then answer them, 'All I have to say is that I will take her, uncles.'" "Very good then," said the prince. Then the orphan said to the king's son, "If you go into the cage wearing your own fine clothes, they will recognize you at once. So let me out. I will give you my clothes, and then you can enter the cage." So the king's son opened the cage and let out the orphan, and the orphan gave his clothes to the prince, while the prince gave his coat, *dhoti*, necklace, and bracelets in exchange to the orphan, and entered into the cage. Then the orphan made fast the door of the cage, and having dressed himself in the prince's clothes, necklace, and bracelets, went away to his home. Then the orphan's uncles returned from eating their rice, and coming up to the cage asked, "Have you anything more to say, nephew?" "All right, uncles, I agree to take her," answered the king's son, as the orphan had told him to say. Then they threw him in the iron cage into the deep pool. Thereupon the six brothers, the orphan's uncles, said one to another, "How much trouble that fellow caused us all! Now, however, he is dead and done with!" Then they returned home.

When they got there, lo! they saw the orphan again, not dead at all, wearing the king's son's clothes, necklace, and bracelets, splendidly adorned and decked out as you could not imagine! They said one to another, "The orphan is not dead."

after all! There he is, decked out and strutting in his finery!" They went up to him and asked, "Nephew, how is it that you arrived here so soon?" The orphan answered, "Oh, uncles, my grandmothers and grandfathers sent me back here in a *palki* very quickly. Immediately I arrived there, my grandparents gave me these fine clothes, this necklace, and these bracelets. Only look at them! They sent word, too, that they wanted you also to be told to come to them; as a token, they sent this gold knife—see!" So saying, he showed it to them. Then his uncles said, "How shall we manage to get there?" "Let each one of you take an iron cage with him to the river bank, and get into it there," answered the orphan. So each man took a cage to the river bank and got inside. Then the orphan tied each tightly up in his iron cage, and threw the eldest brother in his cage into the deep pool. As he fell, quantities of bubbles came up on the surface of the water. The orphan cried, "Look, uncles! My eldest uncle has drunk so much of the rice-beer which my grandparents have given him, that he is vomiting." Then he brought the next brother and threw him into the water; and so having cast all his six uncles, one after another, into the stream, the orphan returned to his home. Then his aunts, his uncles' wives, asked him, "When will your uncles come back again?" "They will not come very soon; have they not just met their parents, after being separated from them for so long a time?" replied the orphan. So after waiting three or four nights his aunts asked the orphan again, "Why have your uncles not come back by this time?" He answered, "They will come very soon." Then after waiting two or three nights more they asked again, "Why have not your uncles come yet?" Then the orphan spoke clearly, "Put each man's share of rice in the *noksek*."* So his aunts cried, "Ah! they are dead and gone!" And understanding this at last, they wept and made lamentation.

So the orphan became rich, and there was no one left to envy him. And having become a great king, he lived a happy life.

NOTE.—Two incidents in this story, viz. the profit made by the orphan by disposing of the flesh of his slaughtered calf, and his gain by

* The *noksek* : the part of the house (in *kam* : see plan, p. 8) between the fireplace and the middle partition, where the offerings of food for the spirits of the dead are placed.

selling the ashes of his burnt house, and the disappointment of his uncles when they endeavoured to imitate him, much resemble the incidents of a folk-tale given as an illustration of the Tibeto-Burman dialects of Rangkas, Darma, Chaudangs, and Byangs in vol. iii. Part I, of the *Linguistic Survey*. These dialects are spoken in the northern portion of Kumaon, on the borders of Tibet. In this version the animals slaughtered are goats and sheep, and the profit is made out of their skins, while the ashes of the burnt house are by an accident exchanged for a load of flour. Still, the *motif* is the same, and the great distance of the country where this tale is current from that of the Mikirs, and the impossibility of inter-communication, make the coincidences interesting.

3. STORY OF HARATA KUNWAR

Harata Kunwar was one of six brothers, the youngest of them. From his very birth he spent his time in shooting deer and wild pig, and never laboured in the fields. His elder brothers, the five, did the field work. Then they, the five brothers, took counsel together with their father, saying, "This Harata Kunwar does no field work, but spends his time in hunting. Let us talk the matter over at night." So that night they talked it over. The father said to his eldest son, "How will you supply me with rice?" He answered, "As for me, I will become a head man of a village, and sit in assembly night and day; from the rice-beer which people will bring me as the head man's perquisites, I will supply you with good white rice and beer." "And you, the second son, how will you supply me with rice?" "As for me, I will become a blacksmith; night and day will I spend in forging knives and *daos*; with the money produced by these I will furnish you with beer, betel, *pan*, good white rice, and all kinds of spirit." "And you, the third son, how will you supply me with rice?" "As for me, I will labour in the fields, and having filled granaries and barns with produce I will give you good beer and good white rice." "And you, the fourth, how will you provide for me?" "As for me, I will go as a companion to some one, and what that person gives me of rice and beer I will give you." "And you, the fifth, how

will you provide for me?" "As for me, I will become some one's slave, and will support you with the rice and beer he gives me." "And you, Harata Kunwar, in what way will you furnish me with rice?" "As for me, I will marry a daughter of the Sun-god, and having become a great king, I will seat you on a throne, on a fine couch, I will cause slaves, male and female, to bathe your arms and legs, and I will give you beer, rice, and spirits." So they finished their talk. Next day, in the place where they worked at their field, Harata Kunwar not being with them, those five brothers consulted again together with their father. "This Harata Kunwar says he will take to wife the daughter of the Sun-god and become a king, forsooth! Where will he get his kingship? Let us kill him, and let us talk about it again to-night." That night, after they had eaten and drunk, they consulted together about the way in which the killing was to be done. "Let us build a field-water's hut* for Harata Kunwar, on the border of the jungle let us build it, and make him watch there; then at high let us go and thrust him through with a spear." Harata Kunwar's sister-in-law overheard as they were conspiring together. Next morning, after they had eaten and drunk and gone away to their work in the fields, Harata Kunwar came home from his hunting. His sister-in-law gave him his rice, and after he had eaten and drunk she said, "Let me kill that insect on you, Harata Kunwar." Then she killed a louse, and as she killed it a tear fell upon Harata Kunwar's leg. He asked her, "Sister-in-law, are you crying?" And his sister-in-law said, "I am not crying a raindrop fell upon you." Again, as she killed a louse, a tear fell the second time. Harata Kunwar asked her again, "You really are crying, sister-in-law; tell me why you are weeping." So she told him: "My father-in-law and your elder brothers have plotted together to make you watch by night in a jungle hut, and then they will thrust you through there with a spear, they say; that is why I am weeping." Harata Kunwar said, "You need not be afraid; you have told me: it is well. To-morrow morning you will see what happens. If I am not dead, I will come home to you after they

* "A field-watcher's hut," *hem-thap*: a small hut, raised high upon posts and thatched over, built in a clearing for cultivation, in which the cultivator passes the night for the purpose of scaring wild pigs and deer away from the crop.

have gone, and I will throw six clods, taken from the worm-castings, on the of this house. If you don't hear the noise of them on the roof, you will know that I am dead." So in the evening his brothers came home from the field, and his father said, "This night Harata Kunwar must go and watch for us in the jungle hut. Wild pigs are eating up our paddy. There, by the side of the jungle-clearing, we have built for you a watcher's hut." So, having eaten and drunk, Harata Kunwar took with him his bow and went. Then having gathered the fruit of the *puroi-sak*,* he put the juice of it into the sheath of a plantain-stalk, and having made it like the form of a sleeping man he put some clothes on it and laid it as though sleeping in the hut. He himself hid quietly under the shelter of the rice plants. Then, after their first sleep, his father and brothers awoke one another: "Come! let us go and kill Harata Kunwar." Then, each one taking with him a spear, they went to Harata Kunwar's jungle hut. Then the father said, "Go thou, eldest, climb up and thrust him through." The eldest said, "How should I dare to put my spear through him? he is our brother, our youngest brother, we have one mother and father, and besides, we have sucked both of us at the same breast, the same nipple. Since we are brothers, how should I dare to kill him? I dare not." "Go, then, you, the second." The second answered, "Oh! he is not the son of a second wife, own brother he is, our younger brother; how then should I dare to kill him? I dare not." "Go, then, you, the third." He answered, "Our thigh is one, our foot is one, our arm is one, our hand is one; we have grown up together, he is our brother. How could I possibly kill him? I cannot." "Go, then, thou, the fourth." He said, "We sucked together at one nipple, own brothers are we, no sister has he, how could I venture to kill him? I dare not." "Go, then, you, the youngest." "Oh why do you send me on such an errand? I am the next to him. From childhood it was I who grew up with him together. We ate our rice together from one platter; we drank our beer from the same mug. How should I dare to kill such a one? I dare not!" Then their father became angry. "Then why did you dare to say, 'We must kill Harata Kunwar?' If you cannot bring yourselves to do it, you will never become

* A species of potherb, so-called in Assamese : Bengali *putika*, *Basella lucida*. It has red juicy fruit.

men." So saying, he climbed up the posts of the hut, and thrust his spear through that plantain-sheath, and the juice of the *puroi sak* came dropping out from it. Then he called out, "Harata Kunwar, strong though he be, has got his deserts now at last! Let him marry the Sun-god's daughter and make himself a king now!" Harata Kunwar overheard all this. "What, what are you saying, my brothers?" he called out. Then, saying "Harata Kunwar has his bow with him!" they ran away in fear, stumbling and falling as they ran. When they got to their own jungle hut, they vomited, and on the night clearing away, with great difficulty in the morning they reached home. Then Harata Kunwar, after they had come, himself came up, and took six clods from the worm-casts and threw them on the roof. So after they had eaten and drunk, his brothers went away to their field. Then Harata Kunwar came in, and his sister-in-law gave him his rice. After eating and drinking, he said, "Sister! I cannot remain here with you; my own brothers, nay, even my own father, aim at my life, and are plotting to kill me. I must therefore go a-wandering. Get ready and give me a store of rice to take with me, bread, bread parched grain." So his sister-in-law prepared food for him, bread and parched rice. And he said to her when he parted: "If I do not come by my death, then when I come here again I will throw six clods from the worm-castings on the roof; then, when you hear them, wash and make ready the stools and benches!" So they wept together, and parted. Then Harata Kunwar, taking his bow with him, went on his way. At last he arrived at his grandmother's house. "Oh, granny! are you there?" The old woman answered, "Who is there? as for this place, I have neither kin nor helper. Who is come?" Harata Kunwar answered, "It is I, granny." Then the old woman said, "Why are you come, my dear? I am a poor widow. I have neither house nor field. I live only by begging my food. Why have you come?" Harata Kunwar answered, "I will stay here with you and be your companion." The old woman said, "You, who are fit to be a king, a great man, how will you be able to live with me here?" Harata Kunwar answered, "Very good, granny; here I will stay." So he became her companion there. Then his granny the widow said, "Harata Kunwar, spread the paddy out in the sun to dry. I will go and beg paddy in the king's village. After you have spread out the

paddy, if you want to bathe in the river, don't go up-stream; bathe on the shore close by this house of ours." So having spread out the paddy, his granny the widow went to the king's village. Harata Kunwar took charge of the paddy; frequently turning it over, in a very short time he dried it. Then he collected the paddy together and went to bathe in the river. He thought in his own mind, "for what reason did my granny, when she went away, tell me not to go up-stream to bathe? I will go up-stream and see for myself." So saying, he went up-stream. There he saw shards of broken water-vessels of gold and silver lying. "Oh! that is why granny told me when she went away not to go up-stream. At night I will ask her whose *ghat* (watering-place) this is." So he returned home. Then his granny the widow in the evening also came home again from the king's village. So at night, after they had eaten and drunk, Harata Kunwar asked her, "Whose *ghat* is that up-stream? There are broken pieces of gold and silver water-vessels strewn all about it." Then the widow said, "I told you when I went away not to go up-stream. You have been disobeying me and have gone up there, I know?" Harata Kunwar answered, "Yes, I did go, granny; now tell me whose *ghat* it is." So his granny the widow told him: "It is the *ghat* of the King of the Great Place. His daughters, six sisters, come to that place to bathe; don't go there any more." Then Harata Kunwar considered again by himself: "My granny tells me not to go again, but I will go and see for myself". So up-stream he went again, and hid himself quietly under the river bank. At midday the six daughters of the King of the Great Palace came to bathe there in the river. Descending beautifully, each one laid aside her clothes and jumped into the water. This did one after the other, and fair it was to see—like the brightness of the moon and sun; there they bathed and frolicked in the water. Then when the day became cool, the eldest sister admonished the rest: * "O my dears, it is cooking time! time to serve up the food: time to house for the night our fowls and our pigs. Our mother will scold us, our father will scold us, if we stay any longer. Let us go." So they ended their bathing and playing in the water. One after another they shook out their clothes in the breeze and

* Notice the simplicity of life indicated by the occupations the fairy princesses have to attend to on their return to their celestial home.

put them on, and beautifully flew away; but the youngest of them flew away last of all, lovely like the brightness of the moon or the sun. Until they were lost to sight in the heaven Harata Kunwar continued gazing after them till his neck got a crook in it. So they entered heaven, and he saw them no more. And he returned to his house, thinking to himself, "How fair, how lovely! (I will not rest) until I get one of them to be my wife! To-night I will ask granny about it." So home he came, and after supper Harata Kunwar asked his granny: "Oh, granny! such beautiful, such lovely ones I never saw; how shall I get one to wife? Tell me a plan." His granny said, "Oh, Harata Kunwar, these are children of the Sun-god, children of a great king; how should you, who are a man's son, succeed in getting one to wife?" Harata Kunwar said, "Not so, granny: get one to wife I must and will. Show me a plan!" Since he continued to press her with questions, at last she said to him, "If you must and will get one for your wife, then clear a field on the river bank." "Very good, granny," said Harata Kunwar, "to-morrow, this very next day, I will go and clear it." So he remained watching for the dawn to break, until the sun fully rose. Then, taking with him a *dao*, he went. From the moment he reached the place he rested not, but cut and hacked down the jungle there, till in a single day he had finished the clearing. Then, having heaped the fallen trees together, he set fire to them, and the fire devoured them there, till there was not a single piece or stock left that was not burnt. Then he dibbled in maize, small millet, sugar cane, plantains; besides these he planted flowers—marvel of Peru, white lilies, marigolds,* many kinds of flowers. Then the daughters of the King of the Great Palace came down to bathe in the river; beautifully they descended, fair as never was seen; like the moon, like the sun in splendour, they came right down there. So, having finished bathing and splashing about in the water, they spied Harata Kunwar's garden plot. They said, "Oh, whose field is this? It is very pretty indeed!" The eldest answered, "It must be our brother-in-law Harata Kunwar's field." So they flew away beautifully again to heaven together. Harata Kunwar there pondered in his mind: "Shall I ever succeed in getting her to

* The exact species of these flowers is not vouched for; those named are common in the house-gardens of Assamese cultivators.

wife?" And again he asked his grandmother, "Granny, when shall I succeed in getting one to wife?" His granny answered, "Not in that way, grandson. Build for yourself a jungle hut." So next morning a jungle hut he went to build. In a single day he finished building one, great and big, and came home again. "The jungle-hut is finished, granny," he said. "Then cut for yourself a flute," advised his granny. So he cut several flutes for himself, and bored holes in them. Then the time for maize and millet to ripen came. And his granny advised him: "Go and watch in your jungle hut, and play the flute." As for his field, in a very short time flowers blossomed there as you never saw! Then the daughters of the King of the Great Palace arrived to bathe in the river; flying down beautifully one after another they laid aside their clothes and jumped into the water, and bathed and frolicked. Then the eldest admonished them: "Come, my dears, let us go." Thereupon Harata Kunwar began to play on his flute so beautifully that you never heard the like. "Oh! this flute-playing is very pretty to hear! Surely it is the man (called) Harata Kunwar. Come, dears, let us go and ask for a few flowers." So they went. "Harata Kunwar, we would like to pluck for ourselves a few flowers. May we pluck and take some, sir?" "Yes," said Harata Kunwar, "you can pluck as many as you like." Then each one plucked some flowers and went away. Gracefully they flew away with the flowers. Until they disappeared in the sky, Harata Kunwar gazed after them, until his eyes became quite sore with gazing. So they returned into heaven. When he could see them no more, Harata Kunwar also returned home. And his granny the widow asked him, "Did you have any talk to-day with the daughters of the King of the Great Palace?" "Yes, we had some talk; they even asked to be allowed to gather some my flowers." Then his granny explained a plan: "To-morrow is a lucky day. Go, you, before the Great King's daughters come down to bathe, and hide yourself as I tell you, and watch by the river. The elder sisters, all five, have got husbands already. As for the youngest, the King of the Winds is asking for her to marry her to his son; already the gourds and *chungas* of beer (for the wedding-feast) have arrived. Nevertheless, having singled out her petticoat from among the others, while they are all bathing, bring it here to me. I will weave a petticoat just like it in exchange for it; take that one back

there and put it down again in the same place where her real petticoat was; her own petticoat let us hide-away. Then she will not be able to fly away. If she asks for her petticoat back again, say 'One or other of you must marry me.'" "Yes, very good indeed, granny," said Harata Kunwar. From the time that his granny imparted to him that plan, Harata Kunwar's mind was so cheerful as you could not imagine. All night long he could not close his eyes, but went on thinking continually. So morning dawned. Then, having breakfasted, he went to his field. "Oh, when will it be midday?" he said, as he went on waiting. Then he hid himself quietly under the sand. Then at midday the daughters of the King of the Great Palace came. Gracefully they flew down there, and one after another removed her garments and plunged into the stream. So when they were all in the water, Harata Kunwar rose stealthily and seized the petticoat and striped cloth of that youngest one, and carried them off straightway to his granny the widow. And his granny wove in place of them another petticoat and striped cloth just like them. In a very short time she had done them, and Harata Kunwar ran back again there, and having put the new petticoat and striped cloth in the same place, himself went into his jungle hut and played the flute. Wonderfully he played it there; never was heard such playing.

So when they had had enough of bathing and sporting in the water, the eldest admonished her sisters: * "O my sisters, let us go! it is time to pound the rice, time to clean it after pounding: time to cook, time to serve up: time to heat the beer, time to squeeze it from the rice-grain." So having put on her clothes she said again, "Come, let us go and ask for a few flowers." Then, having plucked some flowers, first the eldest flew up, then the younger sisters also flew up to her gracefully, and last of all the youngest also tried to fly, but found she could not. If she flew she fell back again there; if she got up and tried to fly again, she fell back a second time. Then the eldest said, "Oh! what in the world is the matter?" So the elder sisters also came down again there, and went and said to Harata Kunwar, "O Harata Kunwar, without doubt it is you who have changed our youngest sister's petticoat; therefore, bring it back!" So they called out, and Harata Kunwar answered, "One or other of you

* See the note on p. 60.

must be my wife." The daughters of the King of the Great Palace said, "How is it possible that any of us should stay here and be your wife? We have each of us got husbands already." Harata Kunwar said, "Then I cannot give you the petticoat; one of you must positively marry me." Then the daughters of the King of the Great Palace said to one another, "Sister! do you marry him." The eldest answered, "How should I marry him? I have a number of children already." "Then you, the next, you marry him." "How can I marry him? I also have four children already." "You, the third, you marry him, then." "How can I, when I also have three children already?" "Then you, the fourth, you marry him." "I also have two children already; how should I marry him?" "You, the fifth, you marry him." "I cannot marry him; don't you know that I also have one child already?" "Then you, the youngest, you marry him." The youngest answered, "As for me, the King of the Winds is asking for me to marry me to his son, the gourds and *chunga* of beer (for the wedding feast) have arrived already. How can I possibly marry him?" Her eldest sisters said, "Well, but you are not married yet. You must marry him, dear. It is getting dark; we must go. There at home our fowls and our pigs will be calling out for us; besides, our mother and father will be looking out for us. And we will come and visit you from time to time." Then the youngest one said, "What is to be done, sisters? Well, I will marry him; you go. Our mother and father will be angry." Then the eldest one said: "Harata Kunwar, you would not listen to our instructions, therefore we are leaving our youngest sister here with you; but be careful not to grieve or trouble her. Do not make her cook or serve up; moreover, touch not her hand or her foot." So, after giving parting instructions to their youngest sister, they flew away gracefully to heaven again together. The pair who were left behind continued gazing after them till they were lost in the heaven and they could see them no more. Then Harata Kunwar said: "It is getting dark, let us two also go home." So Harata Kunwar was happy and joyful. Night and day he shot deer and wild pig, and his platform and drying stand * (for drying flesh on) were, never dry (*i.e.* without flesh

* The flesh of animals killed by hunters is cut into strips and dried in the sun on frames of bamboo, for future use. The frames are called in Mikir *ur* and *rap*.

exposed on them to dry).

So one year came to an end "O Granny, I says to myself, 'I will go home'; what am I to do?" said Harata Kunwar. "Sure, you have your own house, you have your own field; you can go if you like; nevertheless your wife is not yet entirely at one with you here." "Nay, but" said Harata Kunwar, "is it not a whole year (since we were married), granny?" "Nevertheless, you have not come to perfect agreement yet." "Oh, then," said Harata Kunwar, "I cannot go yet." So Harata Kunwar stayed there, working in the field and labouring, and getting barns and granaries stored with the produce to such an extent that the widow's house was filled up with baskets and barrels full of grain. And God gave Harata Kunwar a child, one son only. Then he asked his grandmother again: "Granny! I keep saying to myself, 'we will go home to my mother and father.'" The widow answered, "Your wife has not yet thoroughly accommodated herself to you, grandson." "Not so, granny; she has indeed. Has she not already borne me a son?" "Go, then. You would not listen to the warnings I gave you from time to time. Go together. But your wife has not yet made up her mind to stay with you, I assure you." So Harata Kunwar said to his wife, "My dear! let us two go together to our home." His wife answered, "Go. Wherever you take me (I will go too)." Then the morning dawned, and they took their breakfast and started. They went a bit of the way. Now, his child and his wife Harata Kunwar bound firmly to his waist with his turban, and so carried them. And so as they went on they saw a jungle-cock* scratching the ground in a wonderful way on the mountain side. Harata Kunwar said, "Oh, jungle-cock, what are you doing there? I am in a hurry to get home; leave the road open to me." The jungle-cock answered, "In will not leave the road open to you. I say to myself, 'Harata Kunwar to-day will bring along his wife and child,' and I am watching the way he is coming." Harata Kunwar rejoined, "What jest is this? Be careful, lest in a little you have to say, 'when Harata Kunwar brought his wife and child to his home and field, my life was lost.'" The jungle-cock said, "I don't say so; to-day (we will see whether) you or I will prevail." Harata Kunwar said, "Is that true?"

* "Jungle-cock": *Gallus ferrugineus*, the wild fowl of Assam jungles.

"True." "Do you swear it?" "I swear it." Then Harata Kunwar, setting an arrow to his bow, shot him.

Then as he went on a little further (he came upon) a cock-pheasant † blocking the road, and scratching in a wonderful way on the mountain side. And Harata Kunwar said again, "Oh, cock-pheasant, what are you doing there? I am in a hurry to get home; leave the road free to me." The cock-pheasant answered, "I won't leave the road free to me." The cock-pheasant answered, "I won't leave the road free to you. I say to myself, 'To-day Harata Kunwar will bring along his wife and child,' and I am watching here the way he is coming." Harata Kunwar said, "Oh, don't be silly, lest you have to say in a little while, 'when Harata Kunwar brought along his wife and child, I lost my life.'" The cock-pheasant said, "I don't say so." Harata Kunwar said again, "Are you in earnest?" "In earnest." "Do you swear it?" "I swear it." Then Harata Kunwar set his bow and shot him.

Then, as they went on still further, a wild boar, so big as you never saw or imagined, with his tusks overlapping his mouth, was straddling across the road, and rooting up the earth there on the mountain side in an extraordinary way. And Harata Kunwar said, "Oh, wild boar, what are you doing there? Leave me the road open, I want to get home quickly." The wild boar answered, "I will by no means leave you the road; saying to myself, 'To-day Harata Kunwar will bring along his wife and child,' I am watching the road he is coming." Harata Kunwar said, "Oh, don't joke! is it true or not?" The wild boar answered, "It is true." Harata Kunwar said, "Be careful, lest in a little while you have to say, 'when Harata Kunwar brought along his wife and child, my life was lost.'" The wild boar said, "I don't say so." "Are you in earnest?" "Yes." "Do you swear it?" "I swear it." "Oh, then—" So saying, Harata Kunwar set his bow and shot him.

Then, when he had nearly arrived at his house, he collected six clods from the worm-casts, and threw them on the roof.

† "Cock-pheasant": *vorek alopo*, the *dorik* (Ass.) or "derrick," *Gennæus Horsfieldi*, the black-breasted *kalij* pheasant of north-east India.

Then his sister-in-law said, "Harata Kunwar has come home! Wash the stools and the benches!" Then they washed all the stools and seats and planks and benches. And Harata Kunwar, bringing along with him that wild boar, put it down beside the hedge, and entered the house. And as soon as he arrived, his sister-in-law gave him there beer, bread, and parched rice. His wife was so very beautiful that no one could look her in the face, as one cannot look straight at the brightness of the sun. Then his brothers were perplexed, saying, "What in the world has happened to us this night?" And Harata Kunwar said, "A short time ago I shot a little pig on the road. I just put it down there beside the hedge. Go and get it and scorch it (for cooking)." So his five brothers went, but the boar was so very big that they could not even move it; they could do nothing with it at all. So Harata Kunwar went with them. With one hand he easily lifted it and brought it away; and they scorched it and cut it up. So home they brought it and cooked it and served it up, and joyful, noisy, laughing and jesting, they ate and drank.

Then next morning dawned. Hearing that Harata Kunwar had brought his wife home, all the people of the whole countryside kept coming and going to gaze upon her, in such crowds as you never saw. And Harata Kunwar put away carefully in a bamboo chungu his wife's own petticoat and striped cloth, with her gold ornaments, her necklace, and her gold drum (Ass. *madoli*) worn on the breast, and tied them up in the pitch of the roof. So Harata Kunwar went to pay visits to the people of the village, and the ryots of the countryside came to visit him; and then they went on to gaze upon his wife. And all the women—aunts on mother's and father's side, sisters-in-law, elder brothers' wives—each one said, "Oh! is she not lovely, sister!" Thus they wondered at her. Then Harata Kunwar's wife answered, "Not so lovely yet as I might be. If I were to put on again my own petticoat, my striped cloth, my necklace and my bracelets, then, indeed, there would be something to see!" Then some old woman said, "Oh, then, give them to her." And Harata Kunwar's old father said, "Where in the world did that idiot of a boy put them away? Why did he not give her her own petticoat and striped cloth?" Then Harata Kunwar's wife

explained: "They are there in the roof-pitch where he has tied them up." So his father untied the bundle and gave it to her. Then she put the things on and arrayed herself. Thereupon she became inconceivably beautiful. "Oh!" they cried, "lovely! beautiful indeed! It is not for nothing that she is called child of the Sun-god!" Thereupon Harata Kunwar's wife rose up to her full height, and flapped her clothes, and gracefully flew away back to her own place. Then Harata Kunwar, happening to see her from where he was on a distant road, kept continually bending his bow. And his wife said, as she left him: "Wait, wait! hereafter we shall meet again." So Harata Kunwar, weeping bitterly, sick and sorry at heart, came to his house. Immediately he got there, without eating or drinking, he took his child on his back, and straightway set out for the house of his grandmother the widow woman. Thus he went on till he arrived, and at once on arrival began to weep and wail as you could not imagine. Then his grandmother said: "I told you from the first that your wife was not yet reconciled to her lot with you. How will you get to see her now. How will you be able to reach her in heaven?" This only aggravated his weeping; refusing meat and drink, he followed his grandmother wherever she went, continually dogging her steps, and was like to die of grief. At last his grandmother said, "Harata Kunwar, take a little food, and then I will tell you of a plan." So he took something to eat, bread and parched rice, and then his grandmother told him her scheme. "To-morrow," she said, "the son of the King of the Winds will come there to marry your wife. Before that, your father-in-law's elephant will come here to bathe. Do you go and hide yourself there under the sand. When the elephant (after its bath) is just about to go, hold on tight to its tail, and bind your child firmly to your waist with your turban. If the elephant asks you anything, say that you also are going to the place where your wife is. Then to-morrow, in the evening, you will arrive there. Remain concealed on the river bank. Then male and female slaves will come to draw water there in order to bathe your wife. Call out to them, 'Give me one draught of water for the child.' Then, if they give you the water, drop into the water-pot a gold ring. Then she (*i.e.* your wife) will call for you. Go to her, and when you arrive, put down your child on the ground; then the child will go of

itself towards its mother."

The morning dawned, and Harata Kunwar, after eating and drinking, went to the river bank and hid himself quietly under the sand. Then the elephant came down to bathe in the river, and having bathed, was just about to go away, when Harata Kunwar grasped firmly hold of its tail, and with his turban tied his child securely to his waist. Then the elephant flew up with him to heaven, and put him down on the river bank there. And all the people of the King of the Winds had come to the house of the King of the Great Palace in order to celebrate the marriage of the son of the King of the Winds with Harata Kunwar's wife. And the King's slaves, male and female, came to draw water in order to bathe Harata Kunwar's wife. And Harata Kunwar called out to them for water for his child: "Give me just one draught of water for my son, good mothers!" One after another paid no attention to his request, till at last an old woman came up. So Harata Kunwar called out again: "Give me water, one draught only, good madam, for my child." So the old woman gave him some water. Making as though he would take hold of the water-jar, Harata Kunwar dropped into it a gold ring. Then they brought the water for Harata Kunwar's wife's bath. After washing delicately her arms and her legs, they poured the old woman's water-jar over her head, and the gold ring fell out. Then Harata Kunwar's wife asked, "Oh! who is the person whose water-jar has just reached me?" Then one after another they said, "It's not my water-jar." Then all called out together. "It is the old woman's jar." Then she said to the old woman: "Where did you get hold of this ring? Seize that man and bring him here at once. If you cannot bring him, it will be a matter of your life." So the old woman, weeping and lamenting, came to Harata Kunwar and called out to him, "Be pleased to come with me! What was the reason why your Honour, under pretence of asking me to give you water, had it in your mind to make me lose my life?" So Harata Kunwar, taking the child on his back, went with her. Immediately on arriving he put the boy down on the ground, and the child ran straight into its mother's lap and began to suck her breast. Then the King of the Great Place said: "Why! such a thing as this was never seen! They have got a child big between them already!" So the King of

the Wind's folk were ashamed and disgusted, and returned home sad and sorry. So they celebrated the wedding of Harata Kunwar and the daughter of the King of the Great Palace.

So Harata Kunwar remained there one year, two years, and laboured at tilling the fields, so that he got twelve barns, twelve granaries full of grain. Then said Harata Kunwar to his wife: "My dear! we two, like the sparrow or the dove, should have a nest at least, a roosting-place of our own. Therefore let us go away together. Do you ask father-in-law and mother-in-law." So at night Harata Kunwar's wife asked her parents: "O father and mother, your son-in-law says, 'we two, like a sparrow or a dove, should at least have a nest, a roosting-place of our own. Let us go away together,' and he bade me ask you about it. What are your commands in the matter?" So the King of the Great Palace said: "My daughter! I have once for all given you away to this man like a bundle of greens, and have nothing more to do with you. Go away together, to-morrow if you like, or to-day if you prefer it." Then he went on to say, "What do you two desire of me? slaves, male or female? ryots, husbandmen? gold? silver?" So she went and told Harata Kunwar: "My dear! my mother and father say, 'You may go away together to-day or to-morrow as you please: moreover, slaves, male and female, ryots, husbandmen, gold, silver,—mention whatever you desire'—so they say." And Harata Kunwar said, "I want nothing at all." And morning dawned. Then Harata Kunwar went and did obeisance to his father and mother-in-law. And his father-in-law said to him, "What do you desire? slaves—handmaids—ryots—husbandmen—gold—silver?" Harata Kunwar said, "I need nothing." Then Harata Kunwar and his wife, the wedded pair, and their son started for home, and in due course arrived there. A king he became, a great man, and night and day he lived in happiness and greatness, and his kingdom was great and stable.

APPENDIX

THE LEGEND OF CREATION

Condensed from Mr. Allen's (of the American Presbyterian Mission) replies to ethnographical questions, dated October, 1900.

LONG ago the gods Hemphu and Mukrang took counsel together for the creation of the world. They marked the limits of their work, setting up four great posts to fix the boundaries of things, and fastened them immovably with six of their mother's hairs. Then they looked for seed to produce the earth, but found none. Then they consulted a hundred other gods, with their wives, making, with themselves and their wives, two hundred and four in all. It was decided to send one of the wives to beg for some earth from the god Hajong, and Bamon's wife was sent on this errand. But Hajong refused to give any earth from his world from which a rival world might be fashioned, and sent the goddess Bamonpi away empty-handed. But as she returned she noticed the worm-casts on the road, and carried off one and hid it in her bosom. But even with this piece of warm earth nothing could be done, until the gods sent for Helong Recho, the king of the earth-worms, who came and worked up the piece of earth, till in one day it became a heap many feet in diameter; so he continued, till eventually it became this earth of ours. But it was still soft moist earth, on which no one could travel. So they called Kaprang the blacksmith, who with his bellows produced a wind which dried the mud to solid earth. Then the gods said, "We must cause plants to grow on it." They searched everywhere for seed, and at last sent to Rekbepi in the west, by the great post that marked the place of the setting sun, to ask her for seed. Rekbepi came, and herself brought seed and sowed it. (Another version states that Rekbepi and Rek-kropi, wives of two gods, went to Kana, beyond the boundaries of this world, and obtained from him the various seeds of trees and plants. As

they were returning, the *sinam*, or head-strap, which held the baskets on their heads broke, and the winds scattered the seeds on the surface of the earth. This occurred on the bank of the river Kallang, in the south-eastern part of Nowgong. But all the bamboos that grew from these seeds were jointless, and therefore weak: strong winds would break down the entire crop in a single storm. So the goddesses who brought the seed tied round the stems pieces of thread to strengthen them; the threads made scars, until at last all the bamboos we have now are marked with scars at the joints.)

Next came the creation of animals. Hemphu and Mukrang were the leaders, but they were helped by Pithe and Pothe ("great mother" and "great father"). The elephant was first created to be a servant to man. Then the tiger was made, and bidden to eat the wicked; any one killed by a tiger is still thought to have committed some great crime.

Then a great council was held, and it was decided to create a being called *arleng* (man). The first man's name was Bamonpo, and he had created for him two wives, one a Mikir and the other an Assamese. But no offspring was born to the man for a long time. At last the Assamese wife sent her husband to her elder brother, who understood the secrets of nature. He sent Bamonpo into his garden, and bade him pick on orange for each of his wives, and give it to her to eat, when all would be well. Bamonpo did so, and went homewards with his two oranges. On the way, becoming hot, he stopped at a river to bathe. While he was in the water, a crow came and carried away one of the oranges. Bamonpo sadly returned to his home, and gave the one orange left to his Assamese wife, who ate it. But the Mikir wife picked up a piece of the peel and ate it, and in process of time she had a son, whom she named Ram. The Assamese wife also had a son, whom she called Chaputi. He, however, was weak and puny, while Ram was strong and valiant. Ram could pull up trees by the roots, and break them down as he pleased. He could fight and conquer any demon who attacked him, and any man whom he met. But he had no wife. One day while out hunting he became thirsty, and climbed a tree to look for water. He saw a pool, at which he quenched his thirst. As he

did so, he noticed in the grass a white thing, which he put in his basket and carried home. It was a large egg. For some days he forgot to look at it, and later on, when he went to see it, he found that the egg was broken, and a beautiful woman had come forth from it. The demons tried to seize her and carry her off, but Ram vanquished them all, and made her his wife. She was very fruitful, and her children multiplied until they were numbered by the thousands. Ram's fame spread throughout the world, till at last he disappeared, and was defied by a race of his descendants, called Hindus. They were a mighty race of men, and in the course of time, becoming dissatisfied with the mastery of the earth, they determined to conquer heaven, and began to build a tower to reach up to the skies. Higher and higher rose the building, till at last the gods and demons feared lest these giants should become the masters of heaven, as they already were of earth. So they confounded their speech, and scattered them to the four corners of the earth. Hence arose all the various tongues of men.

Additional note to p. 45.—A very exact parallel to the story of Harata Kunwar will be found in Mr. S. J. Hickson's book entitled *A Naturalist in North Celebes* (London, 1889). pp. 264-6. It is a story current among the Minahassa people of that region, of heavenly nymphs in whose clothes resided their power to fly, and one of whom was captured by a man who made her his wife; other details agree closely with those of the Mikir story.

VI

LANGUAGE

Outline of Mikir grammar—The original text of the three stories translated in Section V., analysed and elucidated.

THE language spoken by the Mikirs belongs to the great family of Indo-Chinese speech called Tibeto-Burman, the general characteristics of which have been fully set forth in *The Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii. Mikir itself is treated on pp. 380 ff. of Part II. of that volume, and is described by Dr. Grierson as a member of the Naga-Bodo sub-group, in which it is classed together with Empeo or Kachcha Naga, Kabui, and Khoirao. It is unnecessary here to occupy space with any demonstration of the fact that Mikir is a Tibeto-Burman language, or to cite lists of words in it agreeing with those of other languages of the same great class. In the next section an attempt will be made to examine its affinities with other varieties of Tibeto-Burman speech, and to define more clearly its place in the family; in this the language will be dealt with in its internal structure only, and, as specimens, the original text of the three stories translated in Section V. will be given, with an interlinear rendering and a running commentary.

A grammatical sketch of Mikir was printed at pp. 381-391 of Part II. vol. iii. of the *Linguistic Survey*. What follows is mainly borrowed from that source, which was the first published attempt to explain systematically the facts and mechanism of the language.

SOUNDS.

Mikir has no written character of its own. The first publication printed in it, a short catechism issued by a missionary

press at Sibsagar in 1875, used the Assamese character; since then, so far as is known, the Roman alphabet has always been employed to express the sounds of the language. Mr. Stack, from whose materials this monograph has been compiled, distinguished the following vowel sounds:—

a, long *a* as in *father* (chiefly in open syllables);
a, the same shortened and pronounced abruptly, as in the German *Mann*, always in closed syllables;

(N.B. The language does not possess the short Hindi *a*, representing the *u* in *but*.)

e, the long *e* in the French *scene*;

e, the same sound shortened, as in *belief*;

e, the sharp *e* in the English *men* (always in closed syllables);

i, the long *i* in *machine*;

i, the short *i* in *it*;

o, the long *o* in *bone*;

o, the same shortened, as in *obey*;

o, the sharp abrupt sound in *pot* (always in closed syllables);

u, the long *u* in *June*;

u, the short *u* in *full*.

The diphthongs are—

ai, as in *aisle*,

ei, almost as in *feign*, with the *i* audible;

oi, as in *boil*;

ui, long *u* with *i* added: no English equivalent.

The consonants used in Mikir are *b*, *ch*, *d*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v* (all with their value as in English), and the aspirates *kh*, *ph*, *th* (pronounced as in *cookhouse*, *haphazard*, *anthill*). *Bh*, *dh*, and *g* occur only in a few borrowed words, and *bh* and *dh* are commonly resolved, as *bahar* (for Hindi *bhar*), “a load,” and *dohon* (for Ass. *dhon*), “money.” *F*, *sh*, *w*, *y*, and *z* are not used. *Ng* is never initial, and the *g* is not separately heard (always as in *singer*, never, as in *younger*).

MONOSYLLABIC ROOTS

The root words of the language, whether nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, or adverbs, are generally monosyllabic; where

simple roots have more than one syllable, the additions are formative *prefixes*, once probably separate words, which have become incorporated. Such are the prefix *ke-*, *ki-*, *ka-*, used to form adjectives, present participles, and verbal nouns; and the prefixes *ar-* (in *arni*, "sun," *arlong*, "stone," *arlung*, "man," etc.), *ing-* (in *inglong*, "mountain"; *inghon*, "pity," etc), and *te-*, *ti-*, *to-* (in *teram*, "call," *tekang*, "abandon," *tikup*, "house-yard," *tovar*, "road," etc.), of which the precise significance is not now traceable. In compound roots, formed by combining monosyllabic elements, the force of each individual syllable is still fully felt; such compounds are exceedingly common.

Words are not inflected, but are located in sense by their position in the sentence or by the addition of particles. These particles may often be omitted where ambiguity is not likely to occur; such omission is particularly frequent as regards the postpositions indicating case, and the tense-affixes of the verb.

GENDER

Gender is not distinguished except for animated beings, and in them either (1) by added words indicating sex (as *so-po*, "boy," *so-pi*, "girl"; *aso-pinso*, "male child"; *aso-pi*, "daughter"; *chainong-alo*, "bull"; *chainong-api*, "cow"), or (2) by the use of different terms (*po*, "father," *pe* or *pei*, "mother," *phu*, "grandfather," *phi*, "grandmother," etc.).

NUMBER

The ordinary suffix for the plural is *-tum* (which is originally a separate word meaning "company," "followers"); but other words are occasionally employed, as *mar*, a "mass, quantity, or company"; *ong*, "many"; and *li*, a respectful form used in addressing a number of persons. When *-tum* is suffixed to a noun, it takes the prefixed *a-* of relation, as *arlung-atum*, "men"; when added to a personal pronoun it does not require this adjunct, as will be explained below (*ne*, "I," *ne-tum*, "we"; *nang*, "thou," *nang-tum*, "ye"; *la*, "he, she, it," *la-tum*, "they").

CASE

Case is indicated by position, or by postpositions. The nominative, and, generally speaking, the accusative, have no postpositions, but are ascertained by their position in the sentence, the nominative at the beginning, the accusative following it before the verb. Both, when necessary, can be emphasised by the addition of the particles *-ke* and *-si*, which in some sort play the part of the definite article; but these are not case-postpositions. There is no device (as in Tibetan) for distinguishing the case of the agent with transitive verbs.

The genitive always precedes the noun on which it is dependent. When the word in the genitive is a pronoun of the first or second person, nothing intervenes between them: *ne-men*, "my name"; *nang-pe*, "thy clothes." But when the pronoun is in the third person, or a noun is in the genitive case, the following noun has *a-* prefixed: e.g. *la a-po*, "his father"; *Arnam a-hem*, "God's house"; *hijai-atum a-kam*, "the jackals' work"; *arni-kangsam a-por*, "day-becoming-cool time." This prefixed *a-* is really the pronoun of the third person, and means *his*, *her*, *its*, *their*; the full meaning of the combinations given above is therefore "he, his father": "God, his house": "the jackals, their work": "day becoming cool, its time." As in many other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, nouns (especially those denoting personal relations, parts of the body, etc.) are seldom conceived as abstract and self-contained; they most often occur in relation to some other noun, and thus the syllable *a-* is more often prefixed to them than not. Especially is this the case with adjectives; these ordinarily follow the noun which they qualify, and almost always have *a-* prefixed; e.g. *Arnam a-kethe*, "God Almighty": *la a-kibi a-bang*, "that younger one." Sometimes this prefixed *a-* is thinned down to *e-*, as in *hem-e-pi*, *hem-e-pa*, "widow, widower," literally "female or male owner of the house": *hijai e-hur*, "a pack of jackals." Most postpositions (originally nouns joined to the genitive of the qualified word) similarly require *a-* before them; and the suffix *-tum* of the plural, since it means "a company," also in this manner assumes the form *a-tum*. Before *ing-* the prefix *a-* is absorbed, and the result is *ang*.

The other cases are formed by postpositions. The *instrumental* is generally indicated by *pen* (sometimes with prefixed *a-* or *e-*, as *apen*, *epen*, but more often without), or *pen-si*. The *dative* takes *a-phan*, "to or for," which is also occasionally used for the *accusative*. The sign of the dative of purpose is *apot*: *pi-apot*, "what for, why?" *kopi-apotsi*, id. The *ablative* is formed with *pen* or *pensi*: *non-pen*, "from now"; *dak-pen*, "from here"; *apara* (Ass. *para*) is also used, generally with *pen* as well. The *locative* has a number of postpositions, according to the position required: *-si* is used for "in," as *hem-si*, "in the house," *adet-si*, "in his country"; *arlo* is also used for "in, inside." *Le* (properly the conjunctive participle of a verb meaning "arrive, reach to a place") is often used as a postposition for "at, in." Other common locative post-positions are *a-thak*, "upon, on," *angsang*, "above, upon," *arum*, "below," *aber*, "below," *along* "together with" (*long* means "place"), *adun*, *adung*, "beside, next to" (*dun* is a verb meaning "to be with, accompany"), *adak*, "between," *angbong*, "in the middle of," *aphi*, "after."

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are regularly formed by prefixing *ke-* *ki-*, or *ka-* to the root, and do not change for gender, number, or case. Thus, from the root *me*, "to be good," we have *keme*, "good"; *helo*, "distance," *kahelo*, "far off"; *dok*, "to have savour," *kedok*, "savoury"; *ho*, "to be bitter," *keho*, "bitter"; *lok*, "to be white," *kelok*, "white"; *ri*, "to be rich," *kiri*, "rich." *Ke-* and *ki-* are generally used with monosyllables, *ka-* with longer words; *ka-* with *ing-* forms *kang*.

The form of the adjective is precisely the same as that of the present participle of the verbal root, used to form the present tense, and also as that of the infinitive or abstract of that root, and the collocation of the sentence along determines the meaning of the word used. When particles of comparison or other modifying elements are added to the adjective, the prefix *ke-* etc. is often dropped as unnecessary; thus—

kelok, "white"; *lok-hik*, "whitish."

keme, "good"; *me-mu*, "better"; *me-ne*, "best."

keding, "tall"; *ding-mu*, "taller."

But *kangtui*, "high"; *kangtui-mu*, "higher"; *kangtui-ne*, "highest."

Comparison is effected by means of the postpositions *apar* and *aphan*; "his brother is taller than his sister," *a-te apar* (or *aphan*) *a-kor ding-mu*.

Adjectives commonly follow the noun qualified; when they precede, the construction corresponds to what in Aryan languages would be indicated by the relative pronoun (see below, p. 80).

NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals are *isi*, one; *hini*, two; *kethom*, three; *phili*, four; *phongo*, five; *therok*, six; *therok-si*, seven; *nerkep*, eight; *sirkep*, nine; *kep*, ten. It will be seen that seven is six plus one, eight ten minus two, nine ten minus one. From eleven to nineteen *kre* takes the place of *kep*: *kre isi*, eleven; *kre-hini*, twelve; *kre-kethom*, thirteen, etc. A score is *ingkoi*, and from this point onwards the syllable *ra* is inserted between the multiple of ten and the added units: *ingkoi-ra-isi*, twenty-one: *ingkoi-ra-hini*, twenty-two, etc. Thirty, forty, etc. are formed by adding *kep* to the multiplier unit: *thom-kep*, *phili-kep*, etc. Eighty is *therok-nerkep*, ninety *therok-serkep*. A hundred is *pharo* or *paro*, a thousand *suri*.

The numeral follows the noun. In composition *hini* (except with *bang*, "person") is reduced to *ni*, and *kethom* to *thom*, as *jo-ni jo-thom*, "two or three nights." *Phili* and *therok* are often contracted to *phli* and *throk*.

Generic determinatives, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, are commonly used with numbers:—

with persons, *bang*, as *a-ong-mar korte bang-therok*, "his uncles, the six brothers";

with animals, *jon* (perhaps an Assamese loan-word), as *chelong jon-phili*, "four buffaloes";

with trees and things standing up, *rong*: *thengpi rong-therok* "six trees";

with houses, *hum*, as *hem hum-therok-kep*, "sixty houses";

with flat things, as a mat, a leaf, a knife, *pak*: as *tar pak-phongo*, "five mats"; *lo pak-phili*, "four leaves"; *noke pak-thom*, "three knives";

with globular things, as an egg, a gourd, a vessel, *pum*: as *vo-ti pum-ni*, "two eggs"; *bong pum-theroksi*, "seven gourds";

with parts of the body, and also with rings, bracelets, and other ornaments, *hong*: as *keng e-hong*, "one leg"; *roi hong-ni*, "two bracelets."

One of anything is not formed with *isi*, but, if a person is spoken of, *inut* (a Khasi loan-word) is used: if anything else, *e-* is prefixed to the generic determinative; "one cow," *chainong e-jon*; "one tree," *thengpi e-rong*; "one book," *puthi e-pak*; "one egg," *vo-ti e-pum*. This *e-* appears to be borrowed from Assamese, where it is shortened from *ek*.

Ordinals are formed by prefixing *batai* to the cardinal, as *batai-kethom*, "third," *batai phili*, "fourth." They seem to be little used: in the story of Harata Kunwar it will be seen that clumsy periphrases are employed to designate the second, third, fourth, and fifth brother of the family to which the hero belonged. Distributive numeral adverbs are formed by pre-fixing *pur* or *phong* to the cardinal: *pur-thom* or *phong-thom*, "thrice."

PRONOUNS.

The following are the *personal pronouns* :—

1st Person : *ne*, I; *ne-tum*, *ne-li*, *ne-li-tum*, we, excluding the person addressed : *i-tum*, *i-li*, we, including the person addressed :

2nd Person : *nang*, thou; *nang-tum*, *nang-li*, *nang-li-tum*, ye;

3rd Person $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{la}$, he, she, it; *la-tum*, they;
alang, he, she, *alang-li*, *alang-atum*, *alanm-li-tum*, they.

(The pronoun *la* is really a demonstrative, = this, that : it is probable that the original pronoun of the third person was *a*.)

These pronouns take the postpositions like nouns. The possessive or genitive prefixes are *ne*, my, our, excluding the person addressed; *e-or i-*, our, including the person addressed; *nang-*, thy, your; *a-*, his, her, its, their.

The *demonstrative pronouns* are—*la*, *labangso*, *bangso*, this; pl. *labangso-atum*, these: *hala*, *halabangso*, that; pl. *hala-tum*,

halabangso-atum, those. The syllable *ha-* connotes distance, as *daksi*, *ladak*, here; *ha-dak*, there; *ha ahem che-voi-lo*, "he returned hom from a distance."

(There appears once to have been another demonstrative pronoun, *pi*, *pe*, *pa*, still preserved in the compound words *pi-ni*, "to-day," *penap*, "to-morrow," *pedap*, this morning," *pa-ningve*, "to-night." Instead of *pi* and *pe* we also find *mi me*, as *mini*, *me-nap*. This survival is important for the purpose of comparison with other Tibeto-Burman languages.)

As in other Tibeto-Burman languages, there is *no relative pronoun*; its place is taken by descriptive adjectival phrases. Thus "those six brothers who had gone to sell cow's flesh" is—
la chainong a-ok kekor-dam-a-tum korte bang-therok.
 Those cow's flesh to sell going (plural) brothers persons-six;
 "The man whom Tenton had tied with an iron chain" is—

Tenton ingchin a-ni-pen ke-kok arleng.

Tenton iron chain-with tied-up man.

In these constructions, it will be seen, the adjective or qualifying participle *precedes* the noun.

The interrogative syllable, used to form *interrogative pronouns*, is *ko-*: *komat*, *komat-si*, who? *kopi*, *pi*, what? *ko-pu*, *ko-pu-si*, *kolopu*, *kolopu-son*, how? *ko-an*, *ko-ansi*, how many? *konat*, *konathu*, where? *konam-tu*, *nam-tu*, *nam-tu-si*, when? Always when the sentence does not contain an interrogative pronoun, and sometimes when it does, the syllable *ma* at the end marks a question: "Are you afraid," *nang phere-det ma*? *Ne* (probably an Assamese loan-word) is also used instead of *ma*: "Will you marry him or not?" *do-ji-ne do-de-ne*?

The *reflexive pronoun* is *amethang*, self; *binong*, own; but the most usual way of indicating that the action affects oneself is to prefix the particle *che-* (*chi-*, *ching-*, *cheng-*, and rarely *cho-*) to the verbal root: *la hem che-voi-lo*, "he returned home," i.e. to his own house; *a-ong-mar-atum che-pu-lo*, "his uncles said to one another"; *che-hang-jo*, "they asked for themselves." With initial *ing*, *che-* coalesces to *ching*: with *ar-* it unites to form *cher*.

VERBS

The Mikir verb indicates time, past, present, or future, by means of particles prefixed or suffixed to the root. It does not vary for number,* gender, or person. There is no separate verb-substantive, though there are several ways of expressing existence, as *do*, "stay, abide," used also for "have, possess"; *plang*, "become"; *lang*, "exist, continue (with a sense of incompleteness)"; *le*, "arrive, happen," etc. Great use is made of adjectival or participial forms, and, in narrative, of the conjunctive participle. Compound roots are very extensively used, the principal verb being put first, then the modifying supplements, and last the time-index.

The *simple*, or *indeterminate present* is expressed by the participle with *ke-*, *ka-*, without any suffix: *konatsi nang kedo*, "where do you live?"; *vo kangjar*, "the bird flies"; *sarbura thi-lot-si ne ka-chiru*, "the old man having died, I am weeping"; *ne-phu ke-so-kon*, "my head is aching badly." This tense, as in other languages, is often used historically for the past.

The *definite* or *determinate present* is expressed by the same participle with *-lo* added: *la kopi kanghoi-lo?* "What is he doing (now)?"

The *habitual present* is expressed by the verbal root with *-lo*: as *vo-atum-ke ne-phu-athak ingjar-lo*, "the birds fly above our heads."

The *simple* or *narrative past* is formed by the verbal root with *-lo* or *-det* added: *la pu-lo* or *pu-det*, "he said"; *ne-phu so-det*, "my head was aching"; *la ker-aphi-si long-lo*, "he, after searching, found it." Sometimes *det* and *lo* are used together: *la ne ington-det-lo*, "he abused me." *Det* may also be used for the present when the state indicated by the verb is one that began in the past and still continues: e.g. "Why are you afraid?" may be rendered *kopi apotsi nang phere-det*, or *kopi apotsi nang kaphere?*

The *complete past* is indicated by the root with *tanglo* added: *la-apotsi ne dam-tanglo*, "I went, or had gone, on his

* There are certain particles, *jo*, *jam*, *hur*, *hor*, and *krei*, used to indicate plurality when this is necessary; but they are inserted between the root and the tense-suffix, which is invariable.

account"; *telong longle pho-tanglo*, "the boat has touched ground." *Tang* is a verb meaning "to finish." There are besides a great number of other particles indicating past time used with particular verbs. Thus, with verbs meaning "to fall," *bup* and *buk* are common: *hala che-koi-bup*, "he fell down"; *hem ru-bup*, "the house collapsed"; *long-chong kli-bup*, "the upright memorial stone fell down"; *long-pak klo-buk*, "the flat memorial stone fell down"; *thengpi angsong-pen nang-klo-buk*, "he fell down from the top of the tree." Such particles generally indicate not only past time but abruptness.

A periphrastic past, with the root followed by *inghoi-lo*, "did," frequently occurs; this is probably an imitation of Assamese idiom.

Here may be noticed the prefix *nang*, used, as the specimens show, with great frequency in narrative. It has the effect of fixing the occurrence to a known place, and may generally be rendered "there." It is probable that this particle is originally the pronoun of the second person, and that it refers to the knowledge of the person addressed: "as you know," "as you see."

The *future* is represented in two ways: (1) by *-po* added to the root, to indicate an action beginning now and continuing in the future; as *itum nonke labangso akam apotsi pu-po*, "we will talk about this affair now; and (2) by *-ji* added, for an action which commences later on; as *badu arleng-ta thi-ji*, "all men will die" (i.e. at some future time). As *-po* includes the present in the case of continuing action, it may be, and often is, used in a present sense; *-ji* is restricted to future time.

A *compound future* may be formed by adding to the root with *-ji* the words *dokdok-lo*: *la thi-ji dokdok-lo*, "he is just about to die"; *an cho-ji dokdok-lo*, "it is near breakfast-time" (rice-eating); *an ik-ji dokdok-lo*, "the rice is nearly all done." A *doubtful future* may be expressed by *-ji* added to the present participle: *konat chainong a-ok-si dak-si kedo-ji*, "where should cow's flesh be here?"

From the above it will be seen that there is much indefiniteness in the indications of time afforded by the Mikir verb: except *tang* for the past complete, and *-ji* for the future, the other suffixes may, according to circumstances, be rendered by

the past, present, or future; they may also on occasion be omitted altogether. But the context generally removes all ambiguity.

Conditional phrases are formed by putting *-te* or *-le*, "if," at the end of the first member, and the second generally in the future with *-ji* or *-po*. Of the *conditional future* an example is *nang dam-te, nang la thek-dam-ji*, "if you go, you will see him." The *conditional past* inserts *ason* ("like, supposing that,") before *-te*: *dohon do-ason-te, ne la nam-ji*, "if I had money, I would buy it." The *conditional pluperfect* modifies the second member thus: *nang dam ason-te, nang la long-lok apotlo*, "if you had gone, you would have got it"; *nang ne than ason-te, ne la glem tang-lo*, "if you had explained to me, I would have done it."

The *imperative* is, for the second person, the bare root, or more usually the root strengthened by the addition of *non* or *tha*, and dialectically of *noi*; *non* (= "now") is the strongest form. The other persons are formed by the addition of *nang* (a verb meaning "to be necessary") to the future in *-po* or present in *-lo*: "let us go" is *i-tum dam-po-nang*; "let us go to the field and plough," *rit hai-bai dam-lo-nang*. We may, for the third person, use the causative form of the verb: *la-ke pedam-non*, "let him go."

Participles. The *present participle* has the form of the adjective, with the prefixed *ke-* (*kī*) or *ka-*; as *kedam*, "going," *ka-chiru*, "weeping." The past participle is the root or the present participle with *tang* added: *dam-tang*, "gone," *thek-tang*, "having seen," *ka-pangtu-tang*, "fattened."

Perhaps the most used form of the verb, especially in narrative, is the *conjunctive participle*, which is either the bare root, or the root with *-si*; *hem che-voi-si thek-lo*, "having returned home, he saw." When the past is indicated, *det* is used, either with or without *-si*, as *cho-det jun-det, sarbura, ton-arlo kaibong patu-joi-si, i-lo*, "having finished eating and drinking, the old man, having quietly hidden his club in a basket, lay down"; *Tenton, dohon-alangbong long-si, rit dam-de-det-si, kat-jui-lo*, "Tenton, having got the bamboo-joint with the money, without returning to the field, ran away."

When the phrase in which the conjunctive participle occurs

is terminated by an imperative, the suffix is not *-si* but *-ra* : "having eaten your rice, go," is *an cho-ra dam-non*; but "having eaten his rice, he went," is *an chodet-si dam-lo*. While *-si* links together parts of a narrative, *-ra* links together a string of imperatives.

The *infinitive* or verbal noun is identical in form with the present participle; *kum-kirot tangte kekan arki nang arju-longlō*, "he heard (got to hear) there (*nang*) the sound (*arki*) of fiddle (*kum*, scraping (*ki-rot*) and dancing (*ke-kan*)." All words beginning with *ke-*, *ki-*, and *ka-* may therefore be regarded as (1) adjectives, (2) participles forming tenses of the verb, or (3) verbal nouns; and it will be seen from the analysis of the specimens how clearly this at first sight strange allocation of forms can be made to express the required sense.

In all Tibeto-Burman languages the passive voice is either non-existent or little used; a sentence which in English would be stated passively is turned the other way, and appears in an active form. Thus—"Four trees were uprooted by the wind" would be rendered *tomon thengpi rong-phili pi-pur-koi-lo*, "the wind uprooted four trees"; "this house has been thrown down by an earthquake" is *chikli-si labangso ahem pi-ru-hup-lo*, "an earthquake has thrown down this house." Sometimes a passive may be expressed by a periphrasis, as "I was beaten," *ne kechok en-tang, lit.* "I received a beating." The only unquestionable example of a passive is in the case of past participles, and here the passive is expressed by the simple expedient of putting the participle before instead of after the noun: *bang kevan ahor*, "the drink brought by people"; *maja kelong arleng*, "a man bewitched"; *ne ke-pi a-an ahor*, "the to-me-given rice and beer." This construction is exactly parallel to the method (explained above) of expressing the relative phrase by putting the adjective first, instead of after the noun, and is in fact another case of the same idiom. The participle, which may also (as just explained) be regarded as a verbal noun, comes *before* the subject of the sentence, because the action passes on to the subject, instead of emanating from it, as in an active construction. We are tempted to think that languages which lack what seems to European modes of thought such essential elements as a relative pronoun and a passive voice cannot be

capable of any subtlety of expression; yet this phenomenon is common to forms of speech like Tibetan, Burmese, and Chinese, which possess vast literatures dealing with all kinds of subjects, and in which it is possible to render ideas of the greatest complexity and variety. Even in Europe, the clearest and most logical of languages, French, prefers to use the active form of phrase (with *on*) rather than the passive.

The *negative verb* is a very interesting and remarkable feature of the language. A separate negative root, formed by prefixing or suffixing a negative particle, and conjugated in the same way as the positive, is indeed a common property of Tibeto-Burman speech; but in Mikir this secondary root is formed in a peculiar manner. The negating syllable *-e* is added to the primitive, as *un*, "can," *un-e*, "cannot"; *ong*, "be much," *ong-e*, "be not much"; *i*, "lie down," *i-e*, "not be down." But when the root begins with a consonant or a *neous* of consonants, and is monosyllabic, the consonant or *nexus* is repeated before the added vowel: *thek*, "see, be able"; *thek-the*, "not see, be unable"; *dam*, "go," *dam-de*, "not go"; *kroi*, "believe, obey," *kroi-kre*, "disbelieve, disobey"; *mek-prang*, "eye-open, awake," *mek-prang-pre*, "not awake." When the verb is of two or more syllables, the last is chosen for reduplication: *inghoi*, "do," *inghoi-he*, "not do"; *ingjinso*, "show mercy," *ingjinso-se*, "not show mercy"; *chini* (Ass. loan-word), "recognise," *chini-ne*, "not recognise."

The secondary root thus obtained is treated in construction just like the positive root, and takes the tense-suffixes: *pak-ta pi-vang-ve-det-lo*, "anybody to give him (anything) came not." The time-index is, however, with negative verbs more often dropped as unnecessary, owing to the context showing what the time-relation is.

In the imperative the reduplication is not used; the particle *-ri* is added to the positive root, with or without *non*, as well: *thek-non*, "see!"; *thek-ri*, or *thek-ri-non*, "see not!"

It may be added that this method of forming the negative by reduplication is also applied to verbal adjectives in *ke-*, *ki-*, *ka-*, which thereupon usually drop the prefix: *keso*, "in pain, sick"; *so-se*, "not sick, well"; but *kangjinso*, "merciful"; *kang-jinso-se*, "merciless."

Besides this organic negative, there is a periphrastic negative formed by adding the word *ave*, "is not": *Arnam abang ave*, *kecheng ave*, *kapetang ave*, "God has no body, no beginning, no end" (lit. "God his body is not, beginning is not, end is not"). The *a* in *ave* is the usual *a* of relation, and may be dropped: *alam-ave* "without a word"; *lam-ve*, "word-less, dumb." *Ka*- may be prefixed, forming *kave*, used as an adjectival negative: *kopai* (Ass. *kopal*), "fortune," *kopai-kave*, "unfortunate." Another negative used separately, in emphatic assertions, is *kali*: *tovar nang kepek-ji kali*, "the way I will by no means yield to you"; *ne-thibuk kali*, "it is not my water-jar."

The *causal verb* is formed by prefixing the syllable *pe-*, *pi-*, *pa-* * to the root: this is probably the verb *pi*, meaning "to give"; e.g., *cho*, "eat," *pecho*, "feed"; *tang*, "finish," *petang*, "cause to finish, end"; *ingrum*, "be gathered together," *pangrum*, "collect"; *virdet*, "be lost," *pi-virdet*, "destroy." This syllable takes precedence of *che-* in reflexive verbs: *e-chainong e-pa-chi-thu-koi-lang*, "he has caused us to slaughter all our cows": here *e-* is the pronoun of the first person plural inclusive of the addressee; *pa-*, the causal prefix; *chi-*, the reflexive particle, indicating that the cattle slaughtered were their own; *thu*, a verb, "to kill by cutting"; *koi*, a particle indicating completeness; *lang*, the tense-suffix.

Compound verbs meet us at every step in Mikir. Roots are heaped together, and the compound is closed by the tense-suffix. Ordinarily the first root determines the general meaning of the compound, the rest being adverbial supplements of modifying force: —*chiru-pi-lem-lo*, "he pretended to weep" (*chiru*, "weep," *lem*, "seem, appear," *pi-lem*, "cause to seem, pretend"); *ke-phlong-dam abang*, "somebody who will go and set fire (to the funeral pile)" (*phlong*, "kindle," *dam*, "go"); *kroi-dum-lo*, "she consented" (*kroi*, "agree, obey," *dun*, "go or be with another"); *ne do-dun-ji-ma*, "will you stay with me?" (*do*, "stay," *dun*, as above). The texts which follow supply a multitude of other examples.

These adverbial supplements to verbs, inserted between the principal verb and the tense-suffixes, are a very characteristic

* *Pe*- and *pi*- are used with monosyllables, *pa*- with most polysyllables; *pa* + *ing* = *pang*.

feature of the language, and their proper use is one of the most difficult things for a learner to master. Certain roots take constant supplements of this kind, and are scarcely ever found without them; thus the verbs *thi*, "die," *i*, "lie down to sleep," and *jang*, "close the eyes," are almost invariably followed by *lot*; *reng*, "to live," takes *et* before verbal suffixes; *long*, "to get," takes *lok*; *chingbar*, "to be equal (in size, weight, height)," and *chingdon*, "to be equal in length," take *chit*; *inghom*, "to love," and *ingjinso*, "to pity," both take *duk* and *thet*, both meaning "to escape, get loose," take *phlot*. The complements for verbs meaning "to fall" have been mentioned above (p. 82). These supplements frequently cause the tense-endings to be dispensed with, in which case the action is understood to be in the narrative past or historic present. No doubt most of them were originally separate verbal roots, but are not now capable of being used separately.

The brief outline given above will, it is hoped, enable the reader to apprehend the general construction of the narratives which follow, and display the language in action; for further analysis reference should be made to the notes appended to the texts.

I.

CHONGHOLOSO ATOMO.

FROG STORY.

Arni-si miso-rongpo a-ong an che-thon-damlo.
Day-one a big black ant (to) his uncle rice to carry went.
 Chongholoso tovar ingni-thip. Ansi miso
a frog the way sat down and blocked. Then the ant
 pulo : "Tovar ne pek-tha, chongholoso ; ne ne-ong
said : "The way for me leave free, frog ; I my-uncle
 an chethon-dam-ji." Chongholoso pudet : "Ne-rum
rice carry-go-will." The frog answered : "Under me
 ne-lut-thot-ra dam-te : pakta ne-rum-si dam-
entering (creeping) go your way : every one under me
 hor-le." Miso pudet : "Ne-ong a-an bor do-
passes." The ant said : "My uncle's rice leaf-bundle being
 kok-le, pusi) nang-rum-le nang-kelut-the-k-ji?"
tied up, how you-underneath enter, creep, shall I be able?"
 Ansi chongho-ta pek-pe, miso-ta dam-de.
So the frog would not give way, the ant could not go.
 Ansi nerlo chitim-lo. Ansi miso—"Ai, ne-ong
So day became middle. So the ant—"Oh, my uncle
 an-ingchir-si aning-ne-thi-po" pulo chongholoso-arum
rice-hunger-in angry with me will be" said ; the frog-under
 lut thot-lo. An-lo chongholoso miso-athak ingni-dun-
he entered, crept. Then the frog the ant-upon sat-down-
 chet-lo. Lasi miso-rongpo chongholoso a-mi kor-rak.
flat. Thereupon the big black ant the frog's loins bit-severely.
 Ansi chongho aning-thi-ning-thi karle-sarpo-a don
Then the frog becoming very angry squirrel-big-old's ladder

chon-rai. Karle-sarpo aningthi-ningthi
(on) jumped and broke. The big old squirrel becoming very angry
 hanthar-a-kok rot-pet. Hanthar aningthi-ningthi
gourd's stem cut in two. The gourd becoming very angry
 phak belengpi a-moi klo-dup. Phak-belengpi aningthi-
a wild boar's back (on) fell plump. The wild boar becoming
 ningthi lo-bong thimur-phak Lobong
very angry a plantain-tree rooted up. The plantain-tree
 aningthi-ningthi vo-arbipi a-tar sap-rai.
becoming very angry a sparrow 's nest struck and broke.
 Vo-arbipi aningthi-ningthi ingnar no thong po a-no
The sparrow becoming very angry an elephant deaf-big 's ear
 lut-thot. Ingnar no-thong-po aningthi ningthi arlong
entered. The elephant deaf-big becoming very angry a rock
 helang-phlut. Arlong aningthi-ningthi Recho- a-so
tore up suddenly. The rock becoming very-angry the King 's son
 konglong-pi-bup. Ansi Recho nang-bisar-lo: "Mat-si
rolling down killed. Then the King made an enquiry: "Who
 ne-po pithi-lotlo?" "Ai, arlong-si konglong-bup,"
my son has killed?" "Oh, the rock rolled down on him,"
 pulo. Ansi arlong arju-damlo: "O arlong,
they said. Then the rock he summoned to answer: "O rock,
 arlong! pi-apot nang ne-so konglong-bup?"
rock! for what reason you my son did roll down upon?"
 Arlong pudet: "Che! Hemphu-arnam-recho, pi ne konglong-
The rock said: "Oh! Lord- God- King, how I to roll
 bup-be-ji? Ingnar no thongpo-si ne helang-
down-not was I? The elephant big-deaf me torn up
 phlut-le ne doi-phit-lo; ne-ke ne-ri ave,
suddenly having, me pushed out; as for me, (to) me hands are not,
 ne-keng ave, kolo-pu-si cher chak-thek ji? Nang-
(to) me legs are not, how then withstand could I? Your
 sopo ne kekonglong a-tovar dokoksi, ne konglong-
honourable son my rolling down-path being-in, I rolled down
 bup-lo-te."
 upon him accordingly."

Ansi Recho pulo: "Mai! la ingnar no-thong-po
 Then the king said: "Oh! that elephant deaf-big
 la-anset bon-he"—pusi, ingnar no-thong-po
 that so much (trouble) caused"—saying, elephant deaf-big
 arju-dam-lo. "O ingnar ingnar! kopi-apot nang
 summoned. "O elephant, elephant! for what reason you
 arlong helang-phlut?" Ingnar pudet: "Che!
 the rock tore up suddenly?" The elephant answered: "Oh,
 pi ne helang-phlut-phle-ji, Hemphu arnam? Vo-arbipi
 how I was to help tearing it up, Lord God? The sparrow
 ne-no ne-kelut-thot-si, ne a-bidi thek-the-det-lo-le,
 my ear having entered into, my wits having lost control of me,
 la-helo ne arlong helang-phlut."
 therefore I the rock tore up suddenly.

Ansi Recho pudet—"Mai! la vo-arbipi la-anpin
 Then the King said—"Oh! that sparrow that so much
 bon-he" pu, arju-damlo. "O vo-arbipi voarbipi
 (trouble) caused" saying, summoned. "O sparrow, sparrow!
 ingnar a-no kopi-apot nang lut thot?" Voarbipi
 elephant's ear for what reason did you enter?" The sparrow
 thakdet—"Che! Hemphu! pi ne lut-le-ji?
 answered—"Oh! Lord! how I was I not to enter?
 lobong ne tar kesap-rai-le, la-helo
 the plantain-stalk my nest falling on having broken, therefore
 ne-ning oi-ong, ne ingnar a-no lut-thot."
 my mind being very disturbed, I elephant's ear entered."

Ansi Recho pu—"Mai! la lobong lapu
 Then the King said—"Oh! that plantain-stalk, it seems,
 anpin bon-he"—pusi arju-dam-lo. "O lobong
 so much (trouble) caused"—saying he summoned. "O plantain,
 lobong! nang kopi-apot vo-arbipi a-tar sap-
 plantain! you for what reason the sparrow's nest fell upon
 rai? Lobong pudet—"Che! pi ne sap-rai-
 and broke!" The plantain said—"Oh! how I was not to
 re-ji, Hemphu arnam? Phak-belong pi-si ne
 fall and break, Lord God? The wild boar me

kathimur-phak-le: ne thimur-phak-lo-te ne ingkur
rooted me up suddenly: I having been rooted up, I root
 kave-det lo-le: kopu-si ne karjap thek-ji-lang?
none had at all: how I standing-up was to be able to continue?
 Thangbak ne ri ne-keng le-kedo kali-det-le."

Any to me-hand to me-leg being, existing, not-at-all there is."

"Mai! la phak pu an-pin bon-he," pu

"Oh! that pig, it seems, all the (trouble) caused," saying
 Recho pulo. Ansi phak-aphan arju-dam-lo. "O phak phak!
the King said. So the pig (accus.) he summoned. "O pig, pig!
 pi-apot nang lobong thimur-phak"? Phak pudet
for what reason you the plantain rooted up"? The pig answered

"Pi ne thimur-phak-phe-ji? Ne chopan-vek,

"How I could help rooting it up? (as) I was feeding, grazing,
 mamatsi hanthar ne-moi kelo-dap-le: la-helo
suddenly, the gourd my back (on) came tumbling down: therefore
 keso-ong ne lobong thimur-phak."

being in great pain I the plantain rooted up."

Ansi Recho—Mai! hanthar pu an-pin bon-he"

So the king—"Oh? the gourd, then, all this (trouble) caused,"
 pusi hanthar arju-dam-lo. "O hanthar hanthar! pi-apot
saging the gourd summoned. "O gourd, gourd; for what
 phak-beleng pi a-moi nang klo-dup?" "Pi ne
reason the wild boar 's back (on) you fell-plump?" "How I
 klo-dup de-ji, Hemphu Arnam? Karle-si ne-kok
could help falling? Lord God? The squirrel my stem (to me)
 ne-kerot-pet-le, ne-ke thangbak ne-ri, ne-keng
having cut through, I at all to me hand, to me foot
 le-kedo kali det, ne-kok isi-pet an-helo, la-le
there-not-existing, my stem, one-only, so much having, that if
 ne rot-pet-lo-te, ne klo-nang-po. Phak-beleng-pi
to me is cut through, I must necessarily fall. The wild boar
 a moi keklo-nang-dup."

's back (on) falling became necessary."

Ansi Recho pu-le-lo—"Mai! la karle pu an-pin

So the King said again—"Oh! that squirrel then so much

bonhe" pusi karle arju-dam-lo. "O karle
(trouble) caused" saying the squirrel summoned. "O squirrel,
karle! kopi-apot nang hanthar a-kok rot pet?"
squirrel! for what reason did you the gourd's stem cut through?"

Karle pudet—"Che! pi ne rot-re-ji, Hemphu
The squirrel said—"Oh, how I was not to cut it, Lord
Arnam? Chongholoso-si ne-don chon-rai-le. La-
God? The frog my ladder (on) jumping broke: There-
si ne tovar ave-det-lo: ne hanthar a-kok rot-
fore to me a road did not remain: I the gourd's stem had
pet."
to cut."

Recho pudet—"Mai! la chongho la-pu an-pin
The King said—"Oh! that frog, it seems, so much (trouble)
bon-he" pusi arju-dam-lo: "O chongholoso chongholoso!
caused" saying he summoned. "O frog, frog!
kopi-apot nang karle a-don chon-rai?"
for what reason you the squirrel's ladder jumping on broke?"
Chongho thakdet—"Pi ne chon-rai-re-ji?"

The frog answered—"How I was to help jumping on and breaking?
Miso-rong-po-si ne-mi ne-ke kor-rak-le: la keso-ong-
The big black ant my loins, even me, bit hard: that pain-great-
si ne karle-adon-bo-po ne chini-ne-det-si chon-
from I squirrel's ladder (honorific) I not knowingly jumped upon
rai-te."
and broke."

Recho pu-le-lo—"Mai! miso pu an-pin
The King said again—"Oh! the ant, then, caused all the
bon-he" pusi arju-dam-lo. "O miso miso! pi-apot nang
trouble" saying summoned. "O ant, ant! what-for did you
chongholoso-a-mi kor-rak?" Miso pudet—"Pi ne kor-
the frog's loins bite severely? The ant said—"How I was to
rak-re-ji? Adap ne-ong an che-thon-
help biting him? In the morning to my uncle rice I was going
dam-lo: Chongho tovar ingni-thip. La lo
along carrying: the frog the road sitting down blocked. Thereupon

ne 'tovar ne pek-tha' pulo: 'ne-rum-le lut-non' pu.
 I 'road to me free-leave' said: 'me underneath creep' he said.
 Ne lut-thot-lo: chongho ne-thak ne ingni-thip;
 I crept under him: the frog on the top of me sat down tight;
 lasi ne a-mi kor-rak."
 therefore I his loins bit-severely."

Ansi Recho pulo—"Nang bang-hini kelet-det." Miso-ke
 Then the King said—"You persons-two guilty-are." The ani
 chujeng pen kok-chek-lo: non a-vam cheng-jan.
 hair of head-with they tied-firmly: now his-waist is very slender.
 Chongho-ke tarme-lang-bong-pen sap-phrat-phrat;
 The frog a blistering creeper-with they soundly thrashed;
 lasi non phrok-se-nok-tok.
 therefore now he is speckled all over.

NOTES

This simple and direct narrative, easy of analysis, affords an excellent illustration of the mechanism of Mikir speech. First, we observe that the indication of time is put at the beginning of the sentence: *arni-si*, "one day"; *adap*, "in the morning." Then follows the subject, then the object, and last the verb, with all its qualifications. The most frequent conjunction is *ansi*, "and, so," which appears to be made up of *an*, the particle indicating quantity, and *si*, the particle indicating locality, used also for the conjunctive participle; the meaning would then be—"so much having passed (what follows comes next)." *An-ke*, *an-le* and *an-lo* have the same force.

For the tenses we find the usual suffixes, *-lo*, *-det*, for the narrative past, *-po* for the present-future, and *-ji* for the future. In the narrative a much-used auxiliary is *-le*, which means "having arrived." The passage is remarkable for the number of cases in which, no ambiguity being possible, the tense particle is omitted, and the past is expressed by the bare root, without, or more commonly with, an adverbial supplement. Thus, we have *pulo*, *pudet*, and *pu* for "said"; *ingni-thip*, "he sat down and blocked," *kor-rak*, "bit severely," *chon-rai*, "jumped upon and broke," *rot-pet*, "cut in two," *klo-dup*, "fell plump," *thimur-phak*, "rooted up," *sap-rai*, "struck and broke," *lut-thot*, "entered," *helangphlui*, "tore up suddenly," *pi-bup*, "killed by tumbling on him," *cho-par-vek*, "was feeding, grazing," *sap-phrat-phrat*, "beat soundly." Then, we notice that the great majority of these cases are examples of roots qualified by the addition of a particle which, while not used separately by itself, gives energy and definiteness to the verbal root; this method of heightening the force of verbs is a great characteristic of Mikir diction, and is at once the chief beauty and the chief difficulty (to a foreigner) of the language. The adverbial particles so used are very numerous, but they are appropriated to particular verbal roots, and if they wrongly applied the result would be nonsense. Thus, the particle *lot* is used with three verbs only, *thi*, "die," *i*, "lie down, and *jang* "close the eyes,"

and always precedes the verbal suffixes with these roots: it cannot be used with any other. *Thot*, again, always occurs with *lut*, "to enter," *jok* and *var*, "to throw." *Bup* conveys the idea of a sudden blow or fall, and is used with verbs of falling or striking. *Dap* and *dup* seem to have much the same force, *Pet*, *koi*, *klip* are particles used to indicate completeness; *lut-pet-lo*, "all have gone in," *rot-pet-lo*, "he cut through," *cho-koi-lo*, "he ate up," *thu-koi-lo*, "he killed them all," *cho-klip-lo*, "he devoured them." Several of these auxiliary particles seem to be onomatopoeic.

Much resembling the use of these particles are the cases in which verbal roots are combined together to form a single expression. Thus, in our story, *thon-dam-lo* "he carrying went"; *do-kok-le* "remaining tied-up"; *ingni-dun-chet-lo* "he sat down suddenly (*chet* when the ant was passing (*dun*)" (*dun* means "to be with," and is constantly used as an auxiliary, but can also be employed alone in the sense "to go with"); *arju-dam-lo* "he summoned to answer"; *ne klo-nang-po* "I must necessarily fall" (*nang*, verb of necessity).

The story gives a number of examples of the remarkable Mikir negative verb: *pek-pe*, "did not give way (*pek*)"; *dam-de*, "did not go"; *pi ne konglong-bup-be-ji*, "how was I not to roll down upon him and smash him?" where the negative syllable *be* borrows the initial consonant of the qualifying particle *bup*; similarly, *helang-phlut-phle* "not suddenly root up"; *sap-rai-ne* "not strike and break"; *chon-rai-re* "not jump upon and break"; *chini-ne-det-si* "not knowing" (where *chini* is a loan-word from Assamese).

As regards vocabulary, *tha* in *ne-pek-tha* is the imperative particle: another such particle (rarely occurring) is *te* in *ne lut-thot-ra dam-te*; *ra* is used as the suffix of the conjunctive participle in a string of imperatives. *Hor* in *dam-hor-le* indicates plurality: "every one has to pas under me"; other such particles are *jo* and *jam*. *Ta* in *chongho-ta* and *miso-ta* gives definiteness and emphasis; so also *ke* in *ne-ke*, &c. *Sarpo* in *karle sarpo* means "big chief": *po* is a syllable added to give honour and dignity. Notice intensiveness indicated by reduplication in *aningthi-ningthi*, "very angry"; *ning-thi*, angry, is made up of *ning*, mind, and *thi* to be vexed (also to die). *Hanthar*: see note on p. 46. *Rot-pet* means to cut down a slender stem or twig by drawing a knife across it: *pi-pet* to cut down a thick trunk of a tree; *rot* is used for drawing a bow across a fiddle in *kum-kiror* "fiddle-scraping." *Beleng* means a shovel or tray for winnowing rice; *phak-beleng-pi* is a wild pig, because he roots about in the earth with his snout like a shovel; *pi* is a syllable used to form augmentatives, as *-so* indicates a diminutive. *Bisar*, to hold a judicial inquiry, is Assamese. *Hemphu*, "owner," the God Mikirs belong to. *Vo-arbipi*, "a small bird, the size of a sparrow" (not the sparrow itself, which in Mikir is *vo-puru*). *Ne chopan-vek*, "I was grazing"; *chopan* is used of feeding for animals only; *vek* (or *vek-vek*) is a particle indicating continuance. *Mamatsi* is used of some sudden and unpleasant interruption: *klem-vek-vek mamatsi thi-lo*, "he died suddenly as he was working"; *ne an cho-vek mamatsi ne chok-det*, "he beat me while I was eating." Notice, finally, *non*, the particle most often used to indicate a strong imperative, here in its original sense of "now"; in this meaning it is usually emphasised by adding *ke* or *le*, *nonke*, *nonle*.

II.

JANGRESO PEN A-ONG-ATUM ATOMO. THE ORPHAN AND HIS UNCLES 'STORY.

Hako inut ahem-epi asopo inut-pet do; la
Once on a time one widow a son only one had; she
achekle-mar korte bang-therok do. Ansi
(woman's brothers (plural) brothers persons-six had. Now
arni-si armi-kangsam a-ongmar-atum
one day in the cool of the day (evening) his maternal uncles

NOTES

Here we have a narrative of a more complex character than that of the first story, with a richer vocabulary, and abounding in the descriptive adverbial particles which are the main feature of the language.

Jangre, orphan: *so* is a diminutive particle. *Jangre* indicates that one parent is dead; *jangreng* is used when neither survives.

Inut, a loan-word from the Khasi *ngut*, used for the enumeration of persons: in Mikir initial *ng* is inadmissible.

Hem-epi, widow, literally, "sole mistress of the house" (*hem*); the syllable *e* is perhaps a thinning down of *a*; *pi* is the feminine affix, here of dignity.

Achekle, brother, used only by a woman speaking of her brothers; *ik* is used by both sexes; *mar*, collective particle, used to form plurals: often *atum* is added; *korte*, brother: both *kor* and *te* separately may be used for either brother or sister; *bang*, the class-word used for human beings before numerals.

Do, a verb meaning to stay, dwell, exist; specially, it has the meaning "to live with as a wife," and is the correlative of *en*, "to take (to wife)."

Arni-kangsam, "day-becoming-cool-time," the late afternoon. As is natural where there are no clocks, the divisions of the day are marked by other means than the count of hours. *Arni* is a day (or sun), regarded without reference to the lapse of time = French *jour*; *anerlo* is a day's space = *journee*. Similarly, *ajo* is a night, *jirlo* a night's space. The first indication of coming day is *vo-khu e-the*, "first cock-crow"; then follows *vo-khu the-ni*, "second cock-crow," and *vo-khu the thom*, "third cock-crow"; then *the-ang prinpre-le*, "just before dawn"; then *adap kang-thang*, dawn (*adap*, general word for morning); then *nerlo-chitim*, "day-middle," noon; then *arni the-lelo*, "the sun at its height; then *arni-kangsam*, "the sun becoming cool," afternoon; then *ingting lim-rim*, or *ingting-rim*, dusk. Then begins *ajo*, night, when the evening meal is

vang-si jangreso-aphan nang-hanglo— "Osa!
having come the orphan (accus.) called-to— "Nephew!
 ru cho-du-dam-nang." Ansi jangeso-ta dun-lo.
fish-trap set up go-let-us." So the orphan went with them.
 Ansi aong-mar korte bang-therok-ke lang-thak-si pat
Then his uncles, the brothers persons-six, up-stream a dam
 me-sen-si ru du-lo. Jangreso-ke a-ongmar-atum
having well built the trap set up. The orphan his uncles
 a-ru-pat a-ber-si arlong du-i phang-o-phang-a-si
'trap-dam below stones having set up carelessly disorderly;
 ru du-lo, ansi hem nang-che-voi-lo. Ansi latum adap
trap set up, and hame returned Then they in the morning
 ru che-vat-dam-lo. A-ongmar-atum a-ru-pat
the trap-their went to inspect. His uncles 'trap-dam
 an kepat-peme-ta, chikung-chikang-ta che-var
so very well-built though, one cray-fish even had not thrown
 thot-the; jangreso a-ru puke, ok kejang
itself into it; the orphan' trap as for, fish holding, entering
 a-ru tengset. Ansi a-ongmar-atum pulo—"Osa!
his trap was quite full. Then his uncles said "Nephew!

taken, after which soon comes the first sleep, *an-cho mek-bur*, "rice-having-eaten eye-close"; then *jirlo chitim*, midnight.

Nang-, a particle used, prefixed to verbs, to give vividness, is really the pronoun of the 2nd person singular, emphasis being given by referring the verb to the person addressed. *Nang* at the end of the phrase is the verb of necessity = must; it often means "let us do this or that."

Pat, as a noun, is a stone dam or fence, put across a stream with an opening in the middle in which the bamboo cage or fish-trap, *ru*, is placed; as a verb, it means to build such a dam or fence; *du* means to place a thing so that it will catch or intercept something else.

Lang, water, stream: *lang-thak* up-stream, *lang-ber* down-stream.

Che- prefixed to verbs gives them a reflexive meaning, and indicates that the action relates to the subject; *hem che-voi-lo*, "he went home, to his own house"; *che-pu-lo*, "they said to one another"; *ru che-vat-dam-lo*, "they went to inspect their own fish-trap."

Chikung, a cray-fish; *chikang* is an imitative sequent; similarly *phang-o*, carelessly, is followed by *phang-a*.

Jang, as a verb, means to fill up, or, of the containing vessel, to hold—*ok-kejang a-ru*, "fish-to-hold-trap." Notice that *ok* means both fish and flesh; alone, it has usually the name of an animal, the latter: *chainong-a-ok*, beef; *phak-a-ok*, pork; *bi-a-ok*, goat's flesh.

Teng and *pleng* both mean to be full: *set* is a particle added to strengthen the verb, taking the place of the tense-affix.

netum dak ru pat-po, nangli-ke lang-ber-le pat-dam-
 we here trap will build, do you down-stream go and set
 thu-non." Ansi jangreso a-ru-pat a-ong-
 your dam again." So the orphan's trap-dam (in) his
 mar-atum a-ru du-si, jangreso-ke langbersi
 uncles their trap having set up, the orphan down stream
 pat-dam-thu-lo; bonta ok kejang lapu-thak-thak,
 again built his dam; but the fish holding just that same way,
 a-ongmar-atum a-ru-ke ok-ejon-nat-ta jang-thot-the,
 the uncles' trap one single fish even did not hold,
 jangreso a-ru-ke ok kejang plengset-plengset. Ansi
 the orphan's trap fish holding was quite full. So
 adap-vang-ta jangreso a-ru-pat a-ong-atum che-
 morning-every the orphan's trap-dam his uncles took for
 rai-ver-lo. Lasi adap-vang along
 themselves continually. Therefore every morning a place
 kaprek ru-pat selet-ong-si, adap-isi-ke
 different (in) trap-set-up becoming very weary, morning one
 ru du-tekan-ke-detsi, bap a-phang-athak bi
 the trap not setting up at all, grass clump upon placing
 tekang-kok. Ansi adap le-lo, a-ongmar-atum vang-si
 he left it. So morning arrived, his uncles having come
 jangreso-aphan nang-hang-lo: "Osa, ru chev-at-dam-
 to the orphan called out: "Nephew! our traps let us go
 le-lo-nang." Ansi jangreso pulo: "Neli-ke ru-ta
 again and visit." Then the orphan said: "As for me, a trap
 du-tekan-ke; da bonta, nanglitum-ari
 I have not even set up; come, nevertheless, (as) your companion
 nang-dun-ji," pusi dun-lo. Ansi a-ru
 I will go with you," so saying he went with them. Then his trap

Adap-vang, "very morning"; literally, "as (each morning came)." *Che-rai-ver-lo*; here *che-* is the reflexive particle, *rai* a verb, to occupy, take up, *ver* a particle indicating continuance, *lo* the tense-affix; the whole therefore means "they kept on taking up for themselves."

Du-tekan-ke-det-si; *du*, verb, to place, set; *tekan*, a verb, to leave, depart; *ke*, negative syllable, reduplicated from last syllable of *tekan*. *det*, particle of past time, *si* affix of conjunctive participle; the whole therefore means "not having placed and left," "without setting up at all."

che-lang-damlo. Vo-thung lut-thot thek-dam-lo.
he went to look at. A wood-pigeon having entered he found.
 Ansi labangso a-vo-thung ari chekoksi hem
So that wood pigeon his cord (with) having tied up home
 che-van-lo.
he bought.

Labangso a-jangreso chainong-aso-ta e-jon do, la
That orphan a cow's child (a calf) also one had, it
 kangtu puke matha-thek-the jadi-the-the, nei-bot an-
fat so very, as could not be imagined (doublet) very sleek so
 pin. Anke a-ongmar-atum lang-un-e-si
greatly. Now his uncles to look at-being unable (through envy)
 labangso a-chainong-aso thu-pet-lo. Ansi jangreso
that calf killed (entirely). Then the orphan
 labangso a-chainong-aso a-reng lumsi akeng-chong
that calf's skin having taken off, leg one
 ha bamon kiri-po a-hem pon-si patu-dam-
to a distance a brahman rich-big's house (to) taking, hid it
 joi-lo. Ansi jangreso: "Mai! hem-ta chainong-
quietly. Then the orphan (said): "Oh! the house cow's
 a-ok angnim-hai-ong-he!" Anke bamon-po
flesh (of) smells strongly!" Then the big brahman,
 aningthi-si pulo: "Teke nang-kordut-pi a-oso! konat
becoming angry, said: "Tiger-bitten boy! where

Ejon: jon is the class word for animals, as bang is for persons, used with numerals; e- is the prefix for "one"; the other numerals follow—phok jon-ni, jon-thom, two, three pigs.

Matha thek-the; matha, verb, to think, imagine; thek, verb, to be able (also to see); the negative affix: the whole therefore means "as could not be imagined"; jadi-thek-the is a doublet of the same meaning. An-pin: an, particle of quantity; pin up to; also tik; an-pin or an-tik therefore means "to such a degree."

Akeng e-hong: a its (the calf's), keng, leg, e-, one (as before), hong class-word for enumerating parts of the body; ha, particle indicating distance; La, this, ha-la that: la-dak, here, ha-dak, there.

Teke-nang-kordut-pi a-oso: teke, "tiger"; nang, particle of vividness, or, possibly, "you"; kor, verb, to bite, dut, particle strengthening the verb and dispensing with tense-affix, pi syllable used in abuse, a- syllable of relation, oso boy: the substantive being put last indicates that the verb is to be taken passively: "you tiger-bitten scoundrel of a boy!" As the Mikirs consider that to be eaten by a tiger is conclusive evidence of

achainong-a-oksi dak-le ke-do-ji? Ne-ke bamon-le.
cow's flesh here should be? I am a brahman.
 Nang peklang thek-ser-ma-si: thekthe-le nang-pran
You produce, show, must be able to: you cannot-if, your life
nang-en-ji." Ansi jangreso pulo— "Dei, tangte ne
I will take here." Then the orphan said—"Very well, then I
 ri-po," pu-si ri-lo. Ri-phang-o-phang-a-si, alang
will search," saying he searched: searching carelessly, he
kapatu-along dam-si chainong-aso a-keng vung-dam-phlut
hiding-place (to) going the calf's leg pull out suddenly
 inghoi-lo: "Lang-non, chainong a-ok do," pu—
did: See-now, cow's flesh there is," saying—
"ne nang pu-lo-he!" Ansi bamon po— "Bang-kaprek-
"I told you so!" Then the big brahman— "people other
 atum vang-thek-dun-te, ne-jat virdet-ji" pu,
 (plur.) *come-see-together-if, my-caste will be destroyed" saying*
 phere-si jangreso-aphan pulo: "Jangreso, po-arnam-po! pak-ta
fearing the orphan-to said: "Orphan, my good sir! any one
than-ri-non! dohon mantung-isi nang pi-po"— pusi
do not tell! money a cloth-full-one you I will give," saying
 dohon mantung-isi pilo. Ansi jangreso labangso adohon
money a cloth-full gave. Then the orphan that money

the wickedness of the victim, the phrase is equivalent to "you wicked wretch of a boy!"

Nang peklang thek-ser ma-si; nang, "you," klang, verb, "to see, observe"; pe-, causative particle, so that peklang means "to show, to produce"; thek, verb, to be able, ser strengthening particle, "fully"; ma, syllable used for direct or indirect questions; doji-ma? "will you marry me?" Nang peso en-tang-ma? "have you taken a wife?"; then, for alternatives, do-ji-ma do-de-ma? "will you marry him or not?"; and lastly, as here, "if you are not able to produce—then," etc.; si, affix of conjunctive participle, properly a locative particle.

Dei, "very good," a loan-word from Khasi. Tang-te, "then,"—properly "not having finished": tang is the verb meaning to be ended, completed, te the negative syllable.

Vung-dam-phlut inghoi-lo. This periphrastic construction, in which *inghoi*, to do, is used to strengthen the verb, seems to be borrowed from Assamese; many examples occur further on.

Po-arnam-po! a honorific form of address; *po*, literally, "father," but used also of a son (*of* the Hindustani *baba*) *arnam*, God (Ass. *deuta*), *po*, big, honourable. For a girl the corresponding phrase is *pe-arnam-pi*. *Dohon*, Assamese *dhon* (*dhan*), wealth, money: notice that the *dh* is resolved by the insertion of a vowel; similarly, further on, *bahar* occurs for *bhar* (Ass.), a load; neither *dh* nor *bh* is used in purely Mikir words.

pon-si hem che-voi-lo. Hem che-le-lo, ansi
taking with him home returned. House his he arrived, and
 a-pei che-pu-lo: "ne-ong-atum a-ton hang-dam-tha."
his mother (to) said: my uncles' basket go-ask-for."
 Ansi apei dam-si hang-dam-lo: "Ik-mar-li! nangli
So his mother going asked for it: "Brothers! your
 osa kipu, 'ton tangho.'" Asni ton nang-lo-lo. Ansi
nephew says, 'a basket I want.'" So a basket they sent. Then
 hem-epi a-ik-mar-atum ton pisi che-
the widow's brothers the basket having given said among
 pu-lo— "Ton pi kanghoi-i-ji-ne? lang-dun-ton-
themselves—"The basket what is to do with! go and peep
 tha"— pusi akibi-abang toi-dun-lo; ansi la nang-
(imper.)—saying their youngest one they sent and he there
 lang-dun-ton-lo, anke hoton-pen dohon keteng
went and watched, and the basket-with money measuring
 nang-thek-dun-lo. Ansi nang-kelang-dun-ton-abang
there he saw. Then there-the-one-who-had-watched-person
 hem che-voi-si, a-ik-mar than-dam-lo— "La
house his having returned to, his brothers informed—"That
 e-osa konat-tong kelong-dam-lo-ne? hoton-pen
our-nephew wherever get-did he (all this money)? with a basket
 dohon keteng chinam sai-se." Ansi dohon
money measure really he has to." So the money
 teng-tang-det jangreso a-pei-ta ton
measuring-finished-having the orphan's mother the basket
 thon-dam-lo, anke anchekle-mar nang-pu-dun-lo "Osa
returned, and her brothers there said to her "Nephew

Ton, hoton, one of the numerous words for basket. Tang-ho, a word used by a messenger to express the wish of him who who sent him to ask for something: not used in other phrases. Ton pi kanghoi-i-ji ne "the basket for the purpose of doing what is?" Pi, what, kanghoi, infinitive, to do, -i syllable added to indicate purpose, ji affix of future, ne, particle of enquiry, an Assamese loan-word. Lang-dun-ton-tha: lang, verb, to look, dun, verb, to go with, to be with, ton, verb, to peep, pry, tha, imperative particle. Teng, to measure, with a vessel of known contents; originally, to fill (see above, tengset plengset). Konat-tong kelong-dam-lo-ne: konat, where: tong, a particle expressing uncertainty: "where on earth did he get it"? Sai-se "in order to"; "he really (chinam) has to use a basket in order to measure this mass of money!" Thon, to return

nang-toi-tha." Ansi hem-epi hem nang-che-le-si asopo-
here send." So the widow home having arrived her son
 aphan che-pulo—"Nang ong-atum kipu 'Vang-tha-tu tangho
 to said—"Your uncles say 'Come here, we want you,
 po.'" Ansi jangreso-ta damlo. Anke a-ong-atum nang
 father.'" So the orphan went. And his uncles there
 arju-lo—"Konat abohon-si nangli kelong-dam?" Ansi
 asked—"Where all this money you obtained?" And
 jangreso pulo: "Chainong-a-ok a-nam: nangli-tum-ne-
 the orphan said: "Cow's flesh (of) price (it is): (by) you my
 kithu-pi-pet a-chainong a-ok-si neli kekor-dam;
 killed-entirely cow's flesh I went a-selling;
 chetangte chehang-jo 'an-pin lang?'"
it not being sufficient, together they asked 'is there only so much?'"
 Ansi aong-mar arju-thu-le-lo: "Tangte chainong-a-ok jor-
 Then his uncles asked again: "Then cow's flesh go
 dam-te la-tum enji-lang-ma?" Ansi jangreso
 a-selling if (we), they will taking-go on?" ... And the orphan
 pulo—"En-ji lang-te; nangli-tum-ke
 said—"They will go on taking certainly; you
 chainong-do-o-para lale thu-koi-ra a-ok
 cows having many because, therefore killing them all their flesh

a thing borrowed. *Vang-tha-tu tang-ho-po*: notice the use of *po*, father, as a respectful address, by the mother to her son; so also the uncles address their nephew respectfully with *nang-li*. *Nangli-tum-ne-kithu-pi-pet achainong*: notice the string of descriptive words prefixed adjectivally to the noun: this is an excellent example of the manner in which Mikir deals with what in English would be a relative sentence—"the cow of mine which you put to death by cutting her up"; literally, "by-you-my-killed-and-cut-up cow." *Thu*, to kill by cutting: *pi*, here a verb meaning to cut a large mass (see note to preceding story, p. 94); *pet* adverbial supplement indicating completeness.

Chetang-te, "It is not enough": *che*, reflexive particle, *tang*, verb, to complete, finish; *te*, negative: literally, "it does not finish our business, it does not do all we want." *Che-hang-ji*: *hang*, to call out, summon; *che*, as before, indicates that they all called out together; *jo* is one of the particles used to indicate plurality; others (which will be found further on) are *jam* and *knei*. *Lang*, an auxiliary verb which seems to indicate continuousness, to go on being or doing. Observe that *-te* is used to indicate the two parts of a conditional sentence: "*chainong a-ok jor-dam-te, en-ji lang-te*" "if we go selling cow's flesh, they will go on taking it." In *chainong-do-o-para*, *o* is a syllable indicating multitude, perhaps

jor-dam-te, ko-ansi dohon kevan-ji?" Ansi
of you go selling how much money you will bring? So
a-ongmar korte-bang-therok abang-phu ejon chainong
his uncles brothers the six each one one cow
thu-si a-ok bahar pon-si jor-dam-lo, ansi
having killed, its flesh load having taken, went to sell it, and
jangreso than-dun-lo— "Nangli-tum hala
the orphan explained to them— "You that (distant)
bamon kiri-po a-rong-le jor-dam-non: la-rong
brahman rich-big's village in go and sell: that village (at) when
le-lo-te 'chainong a-ok enji-lang-ma' pu-ra
you arrive, 'cow's flesh will (any one) go on taking? saying
arju-non." Ansi latum korte-bang-therok chainong a-ok
ask." So these brothers six cow's flesh
ponsi damlo, ha bamon-arong le-si, "Chainong-
taking went, that Brahman's village having arrived, "Cow's
a-ok en-ji lang ma?" pu arju-lo. Ansi
flesh will (any one) take more?" saying asked. And
"en-ji-lang, van-non," pu nang-hang-lo. Ansi
"we will take more, bring it here," saying they called out. So
bamon-po a-hem le-lo. Ansi bamon-po
the big brahman's house they reached. Then the big brahman's
rong isi asangho che-pangrum-pet-si, la
village-whole inhabitants, having collected all together, those
chainong-a-ok kekor-dam-atum korte bang-therok,
cow's flesh bringing to sell-people, the six brothers,
nep-si, a-ri kok-krei-si, jasemet chok-si
having seized, their hands tied firmly having, severely having
pulo: "Netum bamon-le: 'chainong aok en-ji ma?'
said: "We brahmans are: 'cow's flesh will any one take?"
pu nang nang-katirva-hai? pu-si lo-lo.
saying, you here-soilcit a customer dare?" saying let them go.

another form of *ang*; *para* is a loan-word from Assamese. *Abang-phu*, "each one"; also *abang-phu-isi* (used further on); *phu* means "head," *isi* "one"; the latter is used in *bamon-po-rong-isi* in the sense of "the whole," "as one man." *A-ri-kok-krei-si*: *a-ri* "their hands," *kok*, verb, "to tie with a noose," *krei*, particle of plurality. *Katirva*, "to offer for

La chainong-a-ok kevan-atum-ta hem che-voi-lo, ansi
These cow's-flesh bringing persons home their own went, and
 toar chingvai-pon-lo: "Mai! an-le alang
on the way took counsel together: "Oh! how much that
 jangreso e-kechobei! e-chainong e-haidi e-pa-chi-thu-
orphan us has cheated! our cattle (doublet) he has caused us to
 koi-lang; aphu-thak-ta e-reng e-hu e-ka-
kill all; over and above that our skin (doublet) to us he has
 peso. Apot-ke kele-pen a-hem
caused to smart. Therefore immediately on arriving his house
 me-kei dam-po-nang" Ansi hem che-le-lo anke jang-
fire-set-to let-us go." So home they arrived, and the
 reso a-hem me-kei-dam-dut inghoi-lo. Ansi jangreso
orphan's house fire-setting did. Then the orphan
 atum hini chibu-si hem me-kecho aphelo
baskets-two having woven, house-fire-eaten, devoured (of) ashes
 hum-si bahar pon-lo, ansi ha mek-keso
having collected a load took, and that (distant) sore-eyed
 among le-lo. Labangso among arlang abang-
(people's) village went to. That village (of) men, each one
 phu-ta amek-keso-abang angse. Anke phelo
of them, sore-eyed folk were only. So ashes (of)
 a-bahar-pen jangreso latum nang-theksi nang-arju-lo—
a load-with the orphan they having seen, called out to him—
 "Nang kopi kevang ladak?" Jangreso thak-det—
"Thou what for comest thou hither?" The orphan answered—
 "Ai nangtum among mek-keso a-vur do-tang-pu
"Oh! your village sore eyes disease has finished getting, thus
 arju-longsi ne mek-keso a-bap nang-
having got to hear, I (for) sore-eyed people medicine here am

sale," a loan-word from Khasi (tyrwa). *E-ke-chobei*, "us he has cheated," *e-* is the pronoun of the first person plural including the person addressed. Notice the doublets—*echainong ehaidi* "our cattle," *ereng e-hu*, "our skins" (*hu*, "hide, bark of a tree"), and observe how *e-* is prefixed to each part of the sentence. *Atum chibusi*: *tum* is here a bamboo basket in which to carry a load on the back; *bu*; *bu*, "to plait or weave." *Hem me-kecho* "the house that had been eaten (*cho*) by fire (*me*)"; *hum*, to pick up, collect. *Phelo* means both "ashes" and "cotton." *Arju-long-si*, "having got (*long*) to hear (*arju*)."
Arju means both "to hear" and "to

kejur." Ansi latum pulo—"Ai! tangte me-ong-chot-lo,
selling." Then they said—"Oh! then (that) is very good indeed,
 po-arnam-po!" pusi rong-isi asangho dohon
my good sir!" so saying the whole village inhabitants money
 chi-rung-si dohon-bahar-isi jangreso nang-pilo.
having collected, of money load one to the orphan there-gave.

Ansi jangreso pulo: "Labangso a-bap nonke
 Then the orphan said: "That medicine immediately
 chi-hi-ri-tha: mo ne tovar ebeng
do not apply (rub) to yourselves: afterwards I the road a piece
 lelo-te, 'chi-hi-non' pu ne nang-pupo,
have gone when, 'apply (rub) it' saying I will tell you,
 an-le chi-hi-non." Ansi dohon-bahar-isi phelo
then (and not before) apply it." Then money-load-one ashes (of)
 a-nam jangreso long-si, hem chevoilo. Anke la
price the orphan having got, home to his returned. When he
 tovar me nang-le-lo mek-a-vur-kelong-atum
road a little had gone eye disease who had got people
 jangreso-aphan 'chi-hi-non-tu-ma?' pu hang-lo.
 The orphan-to "shall we apply it now?" saying called out.
 Jangreso nang-thak-det "tha"; tebok-het tik-ke
 The orphan answered "wait"; near so long as,
 "tha" pu-bom-si la ha heloving le-lo; anke
 "wait" saying having continued, he to a distance arrived; and

"nang-pho-dun-un-e-lo" pu matha-lo,
"here reach to me they cannot" saying he thought, "the
 "bap chi-hi-non" pu jangreso nang-hang-lo. Ansi
medicine rub in now" saying, the orphan there called out. Then
 mek-keso-atum jangreso-kevan-aphelo a-mek
eyes the sufferers from pain orphan-brought-ashes on their eyes
 che-hi-lo. La bap kachi-hi-pen-apara, amek ki-kru
rubbed. That medicine applying from at once their eyes smarted
 puke matha-the-the jadi thek-the: amek keso
so much, it cannot be imagined (doublet): their eyes sore

ask." Chi-hi-ri-tha, *chi* reflexive particle; *hi*, verb, "to rub in"; *ri* particle
 for the negative imperative, "do not"; *tha*, ordinary imperative affix,
 which may be dispensed with when the negative particle is used. *Tha!*

tan-muchot che-plang-lo. Ansi latum chipulo :
more much became. Then they said to one another :
 "Mai! an-le alang e-ke-chobei tekang: la
"Oh! so much he us having cheated has left: he
vang-thu-lo-te. a-ri kok-dong-ra chok-nang." Jangreso-ke
comes-again-if, his hands tying fast let us beat him." The orphan
 hem che-le-si apei-aphan "ne-ong-atum ahoton en-dam-
home having come his mother-to "my uncles' basket take-go-
le-tha" pu toi-le-lo. Ansi hem-epi a-ikmar-atum
again," saying he sent again. Then the widow her brothers'
 a-hem hoton hang-dam-le-lo. Ansi hoton nang-lo-si
house basket to ask-went again. Then the basket having sent
 latum korte-bang-therok chi-pu-le-lo— "Da,
they brothers six said again among themselves—"Go,
 akibi, lang-dun-le-tha ; hoton pi-tong
youngest, watch again ; (with) the basket what in the world
kanghoi-i-ji-ne?" Ansi akibi-abang nang-lang-dun-
is he going to do ?" Then the youngest went there to watch
 ton-le-lo. Jangreso dohon keteng nang-the-k-dun-
secretly again. "The orphan the money measuring there he saw
 le-lo. Anke nang-kelang-dun-ton abang hem che-voi-si
again. Then there watching-secretly person home returning
 a-ikmar che-than-dam-le-lo— "E-osa chu-
his brothers (to) explained, related, again—"Our nephew than
 aphan-te non dohon kevan ong-muchot le-lo." Anke
last time now money bringing much more has arrived." Then,
 latum korte-bang-therok jangreso-along dam-si arju-dam-lo—
they the six brothers the orphan-near going asked—
 "Konat adohon-si nangli long-dam-o-lo?"
"Where (all) this money you have got so much more?"
 Ansi jangreso nang-thak-dun-lo— "Nangli-tum-me-ne
Then the orphan there answered them—"By) you fire my

"wait" ! loan-word from Assamese. *Tan-mu-chot* : *mu* is the comparative particle, "more," *chot* is the constant suffix to *mu* ; *tan*, a verb, to be burdensome. *Chu-aphan*, "than last time : " *aphan* is the postposition of comparison = "than." *Long-dam-o-lo* "have you got so much more" :

kekei-pidut a-hem a-phelo a-nam. Neli phelo
applied having house, its ashes price (it is). I ashes
 kekor-dam-along 'kedor-de' pu hang-jo: 'an-pin
selling-place (in) 'it is not enough' saying they cried: 'just so much
 van-thu-tha' pusi pu. Ne-li hem-ke bihek-si,
bring again' saying they said. My house being small,
 a-phelo ong-e-det: nangli-tum ahem-ke the-dung-para,
its ashes not much were; Your house, since they are large,
 lale me kei-ra a-phelo jor-dam-te, dohon-le nangli-tum
therefore fire applying the ashes go selling-if, wealth ye
 ko-ansi kevan-ji? Kevan-si nangli-tum un-e."
how much would bring? To bring it you would be unable."
 Ansi a-ongmar korte-bang-therok chi-pulo:
Then his uncles the six brethren said among themselves:
 "Tangte itum-ta e-hem me chekei-dam-po-nang." Anke
Then to our also houses fire having applied let us go." Then
 hem me chekei-dam-si, hem a-phelo hum-si
houses fire their having-set-to, house-ashes having gathered,
 korte abang-phu-ta bahar-un-tik bahar-un-tik pon-lo.
the brothers each individually as much as he could carry took.
 Ansi jangreso than-dun-le-lo: "Ha mek-keso-
Then the orphan explained to them again: "To that eye-sore-
 arong-le pon-non; ha rong-a-kung le-lo-te,
village up to take, carry; that distant village near when you arrive.
 'Phelo en-ji-ma? pura-punon." Ansi latum korte-
Ashes will you take? saying say." So they brothers
 bang-therok damlo. Ha mek-keso-atum arong pang-le-lo,
six went. That sore eyed people's village near arrived,
 ansi arju-lo—"Phelo en-ji-ma?" Ansi mek-keso-
and asked—"Ashes will you take?" Then the people with
 atum "Van-tha" pu nang-hang-lo; ansi latum dam-si
sore eyes "Bring it here" saying called out; then they going

o is, as before, the particle of multitude. Kedor-de: dor, "to suffice, be enough"; de negative syllable; hang-jo, "they cried in crowds" (jo, particle of plurality). Ong-e-det; ong "much," particle of quantity; e, negative; det tense-suffix. The-dung "big"; ke-the great, dung particle; on its addition the ke- is dropped.

rong le-lo ; kele-pen ari
the village arrived ; immediately they arrived their hands
 kok-krei-inghoi-si, la alang-tum-kepon-aphelo-pen
tying each, all, having done, those by-them-brought ashes-with
 amek hi-si jasemet choklo ; anke
their eyes having rubbed severely they beat them ; then
 chok theng-det, latum korte-bang-therok
having been beaten and pummeled, those brothers six
 hem nang-chevoilo. Anke tovar nang-chengvai-thu-
home returned. Then (on) the road they consulted together
 le-lo—"Mai ! an-le alang e-kechobei-ra e-reng
again—"Oh ! so much he us-having-cheated our skins
 e-kapeso, aphu-thak-ta e-hem i-rit
he has caused to smart, over and above that our houses our fields
 e-pa-che-kei-koi ; nonke
us he has caused to set fire to and burn up ; now
 kele-pen ingchin-arua beng-ra
immediately we arrive iron-of a cage (in) having firmly secured
 lang jok-thot-lo-nang." Anke kele-pen
(him) water (into) let us throw him." So at once on arriving
 jangreso nep-chek ingchin-arua-pen beng-chek inghoi-lo.
the orphan seizing of iron-a cage-in firmly secure they did,
 ansi habit lang-bi akethe-pi a-kung
and in the jungle a pool very great (deep) on the bank
 bi-dam-kok-lo. "Mo-le lang
putting down they placed. "After a little while water (in)
 nim-po-nang ; nonke kat-athai aye-lo ; apotke
let us drown him ; now run away-power he has not ; therefore
 an che-cho-dam-si-nang" pusi, an che-cho-dam-lo.
rice our-eat-go-let-us saying, rice-their they went to eat.
 Anke a-ongmar an checho-dam-aphi, konane
Then his uncles their rice had gone to eat after, some one or other

Habit, "in the jungle," locative of Assamese *habi*, forest. It is noticeable that many, if not most, Assamese nouns borrowed by Mikir are taken over in the locative case (of which the final *t* is the proper ending in Assamese), as here : thus *det*, "country" = Ass. *deh* ; *munit*, "man" = Ass., *muni* ; *norokat*, hell = Ass. *norok*. *Konane* "some one

recho-asopo ok nang-kehung vang-lo, ansi jangreso a-dung
King's son deer there-hunting came, and the orphan near
 nang-le-si, jangreso-aphan arju-lo "Kopi apotsi
having arrived, the orphan (accus.) asked "What on account of
 ingchin-arulo nang-kebeng-chek-lo?" Ansi jangreso
iron-cage-inside you are here firmly secured? Then the orphan
 pulo: "Ne-ong-mar-atum asopi keme pu matha-theke-
said: "My maternal uncles a daughter, how fair! as one cannot
 the an-pin do. Lasi 'en-tu' pu ne-phan
imagine so greatly have. Her 'take to wife' saying to me
 ne-kipu, bonta ne-ke 'en-e' pu kipusi,
me they say, but I 'will not take' saying replying,
 ne-ong-mar-atum aning-kithi-si ru ne-kebeng-
my uncles becoming very angry cage (in) me have
 chek-lo." Ansi recho-asopo pulo—"Che! tangte ne
fastened up." Then the King's son said—"Oh! then I
 en-long-ji-ma?" "La ru-arulo-le nang
(her) take (to wife) shall be able?" "This cage into you
 nang-do-te. en-long-ji-te" pu jangreso pulo:
here-get-in-if, you will be able to get her" saying the orphan said:
 "elom-te ne-ong-atum vang-po, anke—"Anhelo-
"in a little while my uncles will come and—"Have you
 ma?" pu nang arju-lo-te, 'anhelo, en-po,
anything to say? saying you if they ask, 'all right, I will take her,
 ongmar-li"—pura punon." "To, tangte," pu recho-asopo
uncles'—saying reply." "Yes, then," saying the King's son
 pulo. Ansi jangreso recho-asopo-aphan pulo—"La
said. Then the orphan the King's son-to said—"That

or other." Ass. loan-word. *Keme-pu* "she is so lovely!" *me*, "to be fair, beautiful," *pu*, literally, "saying." *En-tu*: here *en*, "take," has the special sense of "take to wife, marry" (see what is said of *do*, *ante*, p. 95); *tu*, one of the signs of the imperative mood, is perhaps borrowed from the Khasi *to*. *Bonta*, "ut," perhaps a Khasi loan-word. *An-helo-ma*, a difficult expression to translate: *an* "so much," particle of quantity; *helo* "far"; *md* particle of questioning; it might be rendered "how are you getting on?" literally "thus-far-what"? But it is also used in the answer to the question: *an-helo* there seems mean "all right"—"so far so good." *To-tangte*; *to* is a Khasi loan-word: in that language it is

nang-pe nang-ri-pen mamatle nang ru-arlo nang-lut-lo-te,
your coat your dhoti-with bedecked you cage-into here enter-if,
 nang chini-det-po; apotke ne ingpu-non:
you they will recognize at once; therefore me let out:
 ne-pe ne-ri nang pipo, anke ru-arlo lut-non."
my coat my dhoti you I will give, then cage-into enter."
 Ansi recho-asopo ru ingpu-si jangreso nang-bar-
So the King's son the cage having opened the orphan there came
lo, ansi jangreso a-pe a-ri recho-asopo pilo,
out, and the orphan his coat his dhoti to the king's son gave,
 la recho-asopo a-pe, a-ri, a-lek, a-roi,
that King's son his coat, his dhoti, his necklace, his bracelets
 jangreso pi-thu-lo, anke recho-asopo
to the orphan gave in exchange, and the King's son
 ru-arlo lut-lo, ansi jangreso ingkir-dun-thip-lo.
into the cage entered, and the orphan the door made fast.
 Ansi jangreso-ta recho-asopo a-pe a-ri a-lek
Then the orphan the King's son's clothes, dhoti, necklace,
 a-roi che-pindeng, athormu kedo-an chepindeng-si,
bracelets, having put on, his things all having put on,
 ha ahem che-dam-lo. Ansi jangreso a-ongmar-ta
away to his house went. And the orphan's uncles also
 an cho-dam-pen nang-che-voi-lo, ru-along nang-le-lo,
rice eating-from there returned, at the cage's place arrived
 ansi arju-lo— "an-helo-ma osa?" "Anhelo
and asked— "have you anything to say, nephew?" "All right,
 ongmari, en-po" pu jangreso-kethan-
uncles, I will take," saying the orphan (by) instructed
 kang-ason-thot recho-asopo pulo. Ansi ingchin-arupen
according to the King's son said. Then the iron cage-with
 langbi var-chui inghoilo. Anke
deep pool (into) throw into water (him) they did. Then
 jangreso-a-ongmar korte-bang-therok chi-pu-lo—
the orphan's uncles brothers six said one to the other—

used in answer to a question to express = "very well." *Var-chui*,
 "to throw into water," "drown"; so also *nim-chui*. It seems possible that
chui here may be an old word for water, corresponding to the Tibetan

"An alang i-duk e-kanghoi a-pot, non anke
"So much he us-trouble us-causing on account of, now however
 alang thi-lo"; ansi hem che-voi-lo. Anke jangreso
he is dead"; and home they returned. Then the orphan
 puke—kithi-ji kali, recho-asopo a-pe, a-ri, a-lek,
as for— dead not at all, the King's son's coat, dhoti, necklace,

a-roi che pindeng mesen kemat matha-the-k-the
bracelets having put on, beautifully adorned inconceivably,
 jadi-the-k-the-det thek-dam-thu-le-lo ! Ansi latum
unimaginably, they saw again on arrival ! Then they

chi-pu-le-lo— "Jangreso thi-lot-lo kali !
said among themselves again—"The orphan is not dead at all !
 Ha-la-ie, kemat-lep-ra ka-pang-elim-ke." Anke a-dung
There he is, adorned and strutting in his finery." Then near him
 le-lo, jangreso-aphan arju-thu-le-lo— "Osa! namtu-si
they went, the orphan (accus.) asked-again—"Nephew ! how
 nangli nang-kele-tong-rok ?" Ansi jangreso thak-le-lo—
you here arrived so soon ?" Then the orphan answered—

"Che, ongmarli, ne-phi ne-phu-atum dola-
"Oh, uncles, my grandmothers and grandfathers a palanquin-
 pen-si ne nang-kapethon-dun-kok-le ; hali ne-li
with me here-caused to be escorted back ; there I

le-rok-pen-apara ne-phi-ne-phu-
from the first moment of arriving my grandmothers and
 atum pe-keme, ri-keme, lek roi ne-kepi :
grandfathers coat-good, dhoti-good, necklace bracelets me gave :

la lang-non ! Nanglitum-aphan-ta pevang-tu-po-nang
them look at ! You-to also cause-to-come it is necessary
 kepha-dun-par : asin nang-kelo, la ser a-tari-lon,
they sent word urgently : a sign they have sent, this gold-of knife,
 lang-tha !" pu pe-klang-lo. Ansi a-ongmar
look at it !" so saying he showed it to them. Then his uncles

chhu. 'Che-pindeng "having put on himself" : pindeng, "to put on," is an Assamese loan-word. Kithi-ji-kali : the use of ji, the particle of of future, seems anomalous here : possible the phrase means "he's not going to die, not looking as if he were going to die ;" kali is the emphatic separate negative. Dola, "a palanquin," Ass. loan-word. Ke-pha-dun-par : pha, verb, to send a message : dun, verb, to be with : par intensive

pulo—"Kopusi nelitum kedam-thek-po?" "Ingchin aru
said—"How we go shall be able? "Iron cage

abang-phu-isi che-pon-ra ha
person-head-one (i.e. each one of you) taking for himself that
lang-kung lut-dam-ik-non" pu jangreso pulo.
river bank (to) get into it, good sirs" saying the orphan said.

Ansi latum ingchin-arua che-pon-si ha lang-kung
So they iron cages having taken that river-bank (to)
lut-dam lo. Ansi jangreso ingchin aru rakdun-
got into them. Then the orphan (in the) iron cages tightly

het-rakdunhet-lo. Ansi jangreso akleng-si-abang ingchin-
tied up (each one). Then the orphan the eldest one with the

aru-pen langbi var-dam-chui inghoilo. Anke-phong
iron cage deep pool (into) throw did So then
lang-abuk-buruk vang-jam-cheplang-lo; anke jangreso
water-bubbles coming up many-continued; then the orphan

pu-le-lo! "Ja! ongmarli, lang-tha! ne ong-a-kleng-ke
said again! "There! uncles, look! my uncle eldest

la ne-phi ne-phu hor kipi-si hor
him my grandmother my grandfather beer having given beer
kangri-si ka-cheng-ok-lo." Ansi adak-van-ta
having drunk is vomiting." Then the next one also

lang-var-lo. Anke korte-bang-therok-ta lang-
he threw into the water. Then the brothers six having all
var-klip-si jangreso hem nang-che-voi-lo. Ansi
thrown into the river the orphan home returned. Then

jangreso-aphan a-ni-mar-atum nang-arju-lo—
the orphan (accus.) his aunts (uncles' wives) there asked—

"Nangli ong-atum namtusi vang-ji!" "Tong-tong
Your uncles when will they come?" "Quickly

particle, "urgently." Nangkelo "they have sent": *lo* is a verb, "to send a thing," while *toi* means "to send a person." *Ser*, gold: it is remarkable that the Tibetan word (*gser*, pronounced *ser*) is used for this object of culture both in Khasi (*ksiar*) and Mikir, and not the Assamese (*son*, *hon*); for silver, on the other hand, the Aryan *rup* is in general use. *Lut-dam-ik-non*; *lut*, verb, "enter," *dam*, verb, "go"; *ik*, honorific address = elder brother" (though he is speaking to his maternal uncles); *non* imperative particle. Note the doubling of the verb *rak-dun-het-lo* to indicate repetition of the action in the case of each person.

vang-ve: an kachepho-phe apotsi
they will not come: so long not having met together on account of,
 non kachepho-le-ma ?" pu jangreso pulo.
now have they not met at last? saying the orphan said.
 Ansi jo-thom jo-phili do-si ako a-ni-mar
Then nights-three nights-four having waited again his aunts
 jangreso aphan nang-arju-thu-le-lo—"Nangli ong-atum
the orphan (accus.) asked, again there—"Your uncles
 pi-apot vang-ve-rek-ma ?" Ansi jangreso
what for have not come by this time ?" Then the orphan
 thak-lo— "Vang-dap-prang-po." Ansi jo-ni
answered—"They will come to-morrow morning." Then nights-two
 jo-thom dosi latum jangreso-aphan arju-
nights-three having waited they the orphan (accus.) asked
 dam-thu-le-lo—"Nangli ong-atum kopi-apotsi non-pu-ta
again—"Your uncles for what reason up to now
 vang-ve-det ma ?" Ansi jangreso than-o— "Noksek-le
have not come?" Then the orphan explained—"In the noksek
 an deng-pi-ik-krei-non." Ansi jangreso a-ni-mar-atum
rice set on (honorific) for each." Then the orphan's aunts
 "thi-koi-lo!" pu chini-si, chirulo,
"they are really dead!" saying having recognized, wept,
 chernap-lo, mon-duk-lo, mon-sa-lo. Ansi jangreso
lamented, and were plunged in sorrow. So the orphan
 planglo-philo, pak-ta lang-un-e-abang ave-lo. Ansi
became rich, any one to look on with envy there was not. So
 jangreso recho kethe chosi, reng-me-reng-dok-lo.
the orphan king great becoming, lived a having and pleasant life.

Noksek-le. The *noksek* (see plan of Mikir house at p. 8) is the part of the house where the food (*an*, cooked rice) is placed as an offering to the *Manes*. *Deng*, "to place a share, leave a share"; *pi* "give"; *ik* honorific (as above); *krei* particle of multitude = "for each one." *Mon-duk-lo*, Assamese loan-words (*mon*, mind, *duk*, grief). *Lang-un-e-abang* a person who cannot (*un-e*) look on (*lang*) another (for envy).

III.

HARATA KUNWAR ATOMO.

HARATA KUNWAR'S STORY.

Harata Kunwar korte bang-therok,
Harata Kunwar (and) his brothers (were) six persons,
 akibi-si Harata Kunwar. Amehang-kethek-pen-
the youngest (being) Harata Kunwar. Form the time of his
 apara thijok, phak-leng ke-ap, tiki-ke inghoi-he;
birth deer, wild pig shooting, he never did any field-work:
 a-ikmar bang-phongo-ke sai-katiki. Ansi latum
his brothers, the five of them, laboured in the fields. Then they,
 korte bang-phongo a-po-pen bang-therok chingvai-
the five brothers, with their father six persons, took counsel
 lo: "Alang Harata Kunwar-ke tiki-ke inghoi-he ok
 together: "This Harata Kunwar doing no work deer
 hung-chot; apara ningve chingvai-non." Ansi
hunts only; Therefore at night take counsel together." So
 aningve chingvai-lo. Apo aso akleng-aphan
that night they took counsel. His father his son eldest (accus.)

NOTES.

This story is a much more elaborate piece of composition than the last, and may be said to exhibit distinct marks of literary style. Its vocabulary is copious and varied, and it makes large use of a device which is employed in Mikir, as in Khasi,* to give amplitude to the phrase by duplicating the leading words; nearly every important term has its doublet, with the same meaning, following it.

Amehang-kethek-pen-apara: *amehang-kethek*, "to see the face," is equivalent to "being born"; *pen* and *apara*, the later borrowed from the Assamese *para*, have the same signification, and the latter is really superfluous. *Phak-leng*, shortened for *phak-beleng*, "wild boar"; see the explanation of the term in the notes to No. I, p. 94. *Tiki-ke inghoi-he*: notice that *both* verbs are given in the negative form; this is unusual.

* See "Khasi Monograph," p. 211.

arju-lo—"Nang kopusi an ne-hi-po?" "Ne-pu-tangte asked—"You how rice me-will-supply?" "As for me, sarlar plangsi jo-arni me do-ji ; a headman having become night and day I will hold assembly ; sarlar a-man bang-kevan ahor-ahan-pen-si an-headman's perquisites by people brought the rice-beer-from rice-lok an-me hor-lang hor-po nang pi-ji." "Tangte white rice-good beer (doublet) to you I will give." "Then nang adak-vam-ke kopusi an ne-hi-po?" "Ne-pu-tangte you the next, how rice me will supply?" "As for me, hemai hansari plang-si jo-arni noke no-pak a blacksmith (doublet) becoming night and day knives daos thip-ji ; la noke nopak nang-kethip-atum. I will forge ; by those knives and daos there made by me kevan a-hor a-han akove abithi pensi brought (i.e. procured) beer (doublet) betel-nut pan-leaf together an-lok an-me arak-chidhir nang-piji." "Nang with rice-white rice-good spirit (doublet) you I will give." "You adak-vam adunke, kopusi an ne-hi-po?" "Ne-pu-tangte the second next to, how rice will you supply me?" "As for me, sai-tiki-si puru phandar pelong-si anlok field-work-doing granary store having got together rice-white an-me hor-lang hor-po nang-piji." "Nang adakvam rice-good beer (doublet) you I will give." "You the second adun le-thot-ke, kopusi an nehipo?" "Ne-pu next coming after, how rice will you supply me?" "As for tangte bang-ahem do-dun-si, labang me, (other) person's house inhabiting as a companion, that person ne-kepi a-an ahor ahan-si nang pipo." "Nang me given rice and beer (doublet) you I will, give." "You adakvam-adun-le-thot-ke kopusi an nehipo?" the second next coming after, how rice will you supply?"

Man, "perquisites"; Assamese loan-word.

Kove, "betel-nut," Khasi *kwai*, Ass. *guwa*. *Chidhir*, 'spirit,' the doublet of *arak* (itself a Hindi loan-word) is perhaps the Kasi *kiad-hiar*. Notice how, instead of using the ordinal numbers for second, third, fourth, and fifth brothers, the father employs clumsy periphrases to indicate the sequence. *Phandar*, "store," Ass. loan-word (*bhandar*).

"Ne-pu-tangte bang-aban asot plangsi ne-
"As for me, another person's slave (doublet) becoming me
kepi a-an ahor ahan- pensi ne-an nang pi-
given rice and beer-(doublet) with, from, my rice you I will
po." "Tangte nang Harata-Kunwar-ke, kolopu-si an ne-
give." "Then you Harata-Kunwar, in what way rice me
hipo?" "Nepu-tangte Arnam-aso Arni-aso
will you supply?" "As for me, God's child, Sun's child
en-si recho kethe plangsi, inghoi athak
having married, a king great having become, throne upon
inghu-athak, kapot-athak kapleng-athak nang pangni-
(doublet) plank-upon (doublet) you having caused
si ban-sot-atum nang-ri nang-keng nang-pecham-
to sit slaves and maids your hands your feet having caused to
si, hor an arak-chidhir nang-pi-ji." Ansi chingvai-
wash, beer rice spirits you I will give." So they finished,
tango. Anerlo sai-tiki-along, Harata-
consulting together. That day, cultivation-place-in, Harata-
Kunwar abang-kave-aphi, alangtum korte bang-phongo apo-
Kunwar not being there, those brothers five, with
pen bang-therok chingvai-thu-voi-phak-lo. "Alang
their father persons-six, began to consult together again. "That
Harata-Kunwar Arnam Arni-aso en-si recho
Harata-Kunwar God Sun's child having wedded a king
plang-ji-si pu? Konat arecho-si alangke plang-ji-ma?
will become, indeed? Where a king is he to become?
apara pethi-lot-lo-nang. Apari ningve chingvai-thu
so then kill let us (him). So then at night time let us consult
si-nang." Aningve an-chodet jundet
together again." That night rice having eaten having drunk
alangtum chingvai-lo, kopusi kapethi apotlo.
the consulted together, how the killing was to be done,

A-ban a-sot: in this doublet the second member, *sot*, properly means "female slave"; a similar use of a word of different meaning as a duplicate term will be found below (p. 129), where *a-mek* "his eye" is followed by *a-no* "his ear," the meaning being "his eyes."

"Apara" hem-thap kim-po-nang; Harata-Kunwar-aphan-ke
"So then a field-hut let us build; Harata-Kunwar (accus.)
 naidung-ahoi-el kim-pi-ra pehon-po-nang. Anke
clearing-on the border having built it let us cause to watch. Then
 etum ajo dam-ra chir-pen tok-ot-nang."
let us by night going with a spear thrust-and-kill-him."

Alangtum kachingvai Harata-Kunwar
Them taking counsel together Harata-Kunwar's eldest

atepi arju-dun-lo. Ansi adap an-chodet
sister-in-law overheard. Then in the morning rice having eaten

jundet alangtum kado-kave sai-tiki-am-aphi
having drunk they all having gone to work after,

Harata-Kunwar ok-hung-pen hem vanglo. Ansi
Harata-Kunwar from hunting home came. Then his sister-

atepi an pilo; an-chodet junDET
in-law rice gave him; rice having eaten having drunk

atepi pulo—"Nang miso nang-
his sister-in-law said—" (On) you a black ant (here=louse) there

prolang. Harata-Kunwar." Ansi a-rek pelo, pe-ma-
let me kill, Harata-Kunwar." So a louse she killed, while

pe-lo amek-kri H. K. akeng-athak nang-klo-
she was killing it a tear H. K.'s leg-on fell with a

bup. Ansi H. K. arju-lo—"Tepi, nang chiru-det-
splash. Then H. K. asked—" Sister-in-law! you are

ma-da?" Ansi atepi pulo—"Chiru-re:
weeping?" And his sister-in-law said—"I am not weeping:

arve a-mu-si nang-ke-klo." Ako pe-ma-pe
rain-of a drop has fallen on you." Again while she was killing,

amek-kri nang-klo-thu-voi-phak. H. K. arju-thu-le-lo—
a tear fell upon him a second time. H. K. asked again—

"Nang chiru-det avi, tepi! ne-than-non, kopi-
"You crying are really, sister-in-law! me explain to, for

Kado-kave, literally, "being-not-being," a periphrasis for "all of them." *Miso*, "a black ant," used *verecundice causa* for *rek*, "louse." Notice the idiom *pe-ma-lo*, where the insertion of *ma* between the repeated roots indicates the time during which an act is done.

apotsi nang kachiru-ma." Ansi than-lo: "ne-
 what reason you are crying." Then she explained: "my
 lokhai an-tangte nang-ik-atum kachingvai,
father-in-law and also your brethren have taken counsel together,
 hem-thap nang pehon-si ajo chir-
a jungle-hut (in) you having made to watch, by night with a
 pen nang tok-to-ji-si-pu: lasi ne ka-
spear you will pierce and kill-they say: that is why I am
 chiru." Ansi H. K. pulo— "Phere nang-ne; nang
weeping." Then H. K. said—"You need not be afraid; you
 ne-than-lo, me-lo; menap a-dap nang proman long-
me have told, it is well; to-morrow morning you proof will
 ji. Ne thi-the-tang-te, alangtum aphi-aphi hem nang-
get. I not dead am-if, them after home here
 dunsu chilonghe tham-therok ne sarnung nang-
coming, worm-castings clods six I roof (upon) here
 var-po: Lale sarnung ne-nangkevar arki ave-det,
will throw: that if roof(on) my-here throwing noise there is not,
 tangte ne kithi-lo." Ansi arni-kangsam apor a-ik-
then I shall be dead." Then day-becoming cool-time his
 atum rit-pen nang-che-voi-lo, ansi apo pulo:
brothers from the field there returned, and his father said:
 "Ningve-ke H. K.-ta hem-thap hon-dun nang-po;
This night our H. K. jungle hut (in) go watching must;
 sok phak cho koi-lo; ha naidung-ahoi netum
the paddy pigs are eating up; there clearing-on border we
 hem-thap nang-kim-pi-koi-lo." Ansi an-cho-det
a jungle-hut have finished building." Then rice having eaten
 jun-det, H. K. a-thai che-pon-si hem-thap
having drunk, H. K. his bow taking with him the jungle-hut
 dam-lo: ansi chitu- a-the lik pon-si a-lang
went-to; and (name of a plant) fruit having gathered, its juice

An-tangte, "and also," literally, "so much not finished." Phere nang-ne: nang is the verb of necessity, ne the negative particle: "there is no need for fear." Proman, "proof," Ass.

Chitu, the plant called in Assamese puroi-sak, Basella lucida; its fruit has a red juice.

phingu-a-op-pen bi-si, arleng ki-i a-sonthot-si-
 plantain-sheath-in having put, man sleeping(of) likeness
 athak pe pachap-si. pi-i-lo; H. K.-ke
 upon clothes having put round he put it to sleep; H.K. himself
 sok a-se arlo chepatu-joi-lo. Ansi an-cho-mek-
 rice-arch underneath hid himself quietly. Then after their first
 bur a-po a-ik-atum. chingthurlo:— "Vang-noi
 sleep his father his brothers awoke one another:—"Come now,
 H. K. pithi-dam-po nang." Ansi abang-phu chir-epak
 H. K. to kill let us go!" Then each one of them a spear-one
 chi-van-si, H. K. ahem-thap-along vang-lo. Ansi
 taking with them, H. K.'s jungle-hut-place (to) came. Then
 apo pulo—"Da-nang, akleng! arlu-ra tok-dam-
 his father said—"Go you, the eldest, climbing up pierce him
 non!" Akleng pudet—"Kopusi ne tok-dam-
 through!" The eldest answered—"How I go and pierce
 hai-ji-ma? e-kor tang-det, e-mu tang-det-le;
 dare shall? our brother he is, our younger brother he is;
 ipi isi-pet, i-po isi-pet; aphuthak chubong isi-pet
 our mother is one, our father is one; moreover nipple one
 chithe isi-pet tong-rap-chom: akorte tang-det, kopusi
 breast one we sucked together: brother-full-being, how
 pithi hai-ji-ma? ne hai-he!" "Da tangte nang
 kill-him should I dare? I dare not!" "Go then, you
 adakvam!" Adakvam pu-voi-phak—"Mai! pateng-
 the second!" The second son rejoined—"Ah! (of a) second
 kali, paju-kali: korte-apok, mu-te-
 wife he is not (the son) (doublet): brother of one womb younger

Arleng ki-i, "a sleeping man": observe that *arleng* here evidently means a human being in general (see note, p. 4). *An-cho-mek-bur*: see note, p. 96. *Vang-noi*; *noi* is a variant of *non*, imperative particle. *Chir-epak*: "one spear"; notice that the generic class-word for flat things, *pak*, is used with *chir*, a spear, referring of course to the head only.

Da in *Da-nang* seems to be a shortened imperative of *dam*, to go. *Arlu-ra tok-dam-non*: notice how *arlu*, usually a postposition (=up in), becomes a verb when necessary; similarly, further on, in *e-kor tangdet*, *kor*, "brother," is furnished directly with the suffix for the past tense; *e-* and *i-* are used interchangeably for the pronoun of the 1st person plural inclusive; the second is perhaps employed when the vowel-harmony calls for it. *Tong-rap-chom*; *rap*, "to help," is employed as an adverbial supplement to indicate that two persons do the same thing together; *chom* is a doublet of *rap*. *Pateng*, *paju*, words for a second wife.

apok tangdet-le, kopusi pithi-hai-ji-ma?
brother of one womb since he is, how (him) slay should I dare?
 ne hai-he." "Da-tangte nang adak-vam-adun." La pu-
I dare-not. "Go, then, you second-to the next." He re-
 voi-phak—"Keng-tham isi-pet, keng-pak isi-pet, ri-deng
joined— "Our thigh is one, our foot is one, our upper arm
 isi-pet, ri-pek isi-pet-si, kethe-rap-chom akorte tang
is one, our hand is one, we grew up together, our brother since
 det-le, kopusi pithi-the-k-ji-ma? ne thek-the!" "Da-
he is, how could I possibly kill him? I cannot!" "Go
 nang adakvam-adun-lethot." La pudet—"Mok e-bong-pet
now you, second-next-next." He said—"Nipple-one (at)
 tong-rap-chom akorte tang-det, aphu-thak-ta bhin
having sucked together brothers fully being, moreover sister
 kali bha kali le, kopusi kapithi hai-ji-ma? ne hai-he."
he has none (doublet) how kill him should I venture? I dare not.
 "Da-tangte nang akibi." "Mai! kopusi nele ne
"Go-then, you the youngest." "Ah! how me are you
 ketoi-ma? Ne dun-tangdet, ne-pu-tang-te, akibi-pen
sending? I being next him, as for me, childhood-from
 the-rap-rap: aphuthak-ta an e-van-pet
we grew up together: over and above that, rice (from) one platter
 kecho-rap, hor harlung isipet kejun-rap:
we ate together, beer mug one (from) we drank together:
 abang-le ne pithi-hai-ji-ma? ne hai-he." Ansi
such a person I to kill should dare? I dare not. Then his
 apo aning-thi-lo: "Tangte kopusi 'H. K. pithi-nang'
father became angry: "Then how 'H.K. must be killed'
 pu nangtum kepu-hai? plang-ple-ple-le,
saying ye dared to say? if you cannot bring yourselves to this
 nangtum pinso plang-vangve," pusi nujok arlu-si,
you male will never become," saying, the post climbing up,

Bhin kali, bha kali: *bhin* is Ass. *bahin*, sister; *bha* must be Ass. *bhai*, brother, but is used as a doublet of *bhin*.

Notice the energetic reduplication of the negative in *plang-ple-ple-te*. *Pinso*, male, virile, "worthy of being called men."

chir-pen lobong-a-op tok-proi-lo ; ansi
with a spear the plantain-sheath he pierced through; then
chitu-alang nang-bu-lo ; ansi "H. K. kang-
(name of plant)-juice came dropping out: so "H. K. strong
tang-ma-kangtang nonke nang-dan-lo-bo! Arnam
though he be, now here he has got his deserts! God
Arni aso ensi, recho kethe peplang-bom-
of the sun's daughter having wedded, a great king let him make
lo-nang non-anke." Ansi H. K. nang-arju-dunlo: "Kopi-
himself now!" Now H. K. there overheard all this: "What,
kopi tang-a, ikmar-li?" pulo: anke "H. K. athai
what are you saying, brothers?" he said: and "H. K. his bow
do" pu, phere-si kat-lo; chingthu-cherbu-si
has" saying, fearing they ran away; stumbling and falling
kat-lo ; ahemthap kachile aning-vangphak-
they ran; at their jungle hut their own arriving, they vomited (lit.
vangphak, ansi ajo-pangthang bor-i-det-si
their breast came up), and night-clearing away with great difficulty,
adap hem chevoilo. Ansi H. K.-ta alangtum-
in the morning home they returned. Then H. K. also them
aphi-aphi dun-si, chilonghe tham-therok sarnung var-dun-lo.
after coming, the worm-casts clods six on the roof threw.
Ansi an-chodet jundet a-ikmar rit
Then rice having eaten having drunk his brothers field (to)
damlo; aphi H. K. vanglo. Ansi atepi
went afterwards H. K. came. Then his sister-in-law
an pilo. Chodet jundet pulo, "Ai tepi!
rice gave him. Having eaten and drunk he said, "O sister-in-law!
ne dak nang-do-dun thek-the-lo: korte-apok
I here, remain with you cannot: my brothers own
mu-te-apok aphu-thak e-po-apok-ta ne-pran ne-mui-si
(doublet) nay even our father own even my life (doublet)

Kopi tang-a "what are you saying?" *tanga* is only used in this way as a question, as *tangho* (see above, p. 100) is used in carrying a message, for *pu*, to say.

Bor-i-det-si "with great difficulty"; *bor-i-bor-a*, "by hook or by crook."

ne arlen-thurong : ne-pethi-ji ne-pejang-ji-si matha-
 me aim at (plur.); me to kill me to slay they are

thurong. Apotke ne chongvir-po. Sang-tet
 plotting (plur.). Therefore I will go a-wandering. A provision
 sangti him sangpher-le ne sik-pi-non." Ansi
 of rice bread parched rice also to me preparing give." Then

atepi pu-tekan-lo— "Lale ne thi-dam-de
 to his sister-in-law he said on leaving—" If I do not die
 jang-dam-de-det, tangte ne-kevang-apor chelonghe
 (doublet), then my-returning-time (at) worm-cast
 tham-therok nang-varpo; anke inghoi-inghu kapot
 clods-six here I will throw; then the stools the
 kapleng cham-non." Chiru-rap-jo-si chekak-lo.
 planks wash clean." Having wept together the parted.

Ansi H. K. athai che-pon-si kedam-ma-kedam, ansi
 ... Then H. K. his bow having taken went along, and
 a-phi hem-epi ahem le-lo. "O phi! nang bang-
 his granny the widow's house (at) arrived. "O granny! are you
 do?" Sarpi nang-thak-det "Komat-ma? dak
 there?" The old woman there answered "Who is there? as for
 putang-te, ne-don ne-rap avedet-pile: komatsi kevang-
 this place, to me kith and kin there is not any: Who is
 ma?" H. K. thak-det, "Ai ne phi." Ansi sarpi
 come?" H. K. answered, "Oh, I, granny." Then the old woman
 pulo— "kopi-kevang-ma, po? neke hem-epi:
 said—"Why have you come, my dear? I am but a lone widow:

ne hem ave ne rit ave: cho-hang chorek-chot-si
 I house have not I field have not: food-begging (doublet) only (from)
 kecho: kopi kevang-lo? H. K. thakdet—"Nang-long
 I eat: why have you come?" H. K. answered—"With you
 nang-do-dun-po." Sarpi pudet—
 I will remain here as a companion."...The old woman said—

Arlen-thu-rong, matha-thu-rong: arlen is "to aim at," matha "to
 think about"; thu a particle meaning "again," and rong one of the
 affixes indicating the plural. Chiru-rap-jo-si: jo is an affix indicating
 the plural.

Nang-bang-do? "are you there?" lit. "is your body (bang) present?"
 Kopi kevang ma po? po, "father," is used as an endearing word in
 addressing a son, or as here a grandson (see ante, pp. 99, 101).

"Nangke recho-atheng kethe-atheng le, kopusi ne—
"You that fit-to-be-a-king, fit-to-be-a-great-man are, how in my
 hem nang nang-kedo-dun-the-kji ma ? H. K. thak-det—
house you can keep me company ? H. K. answered—
"Me phi : nang-do-dun-po." Ansi do-dun-lo
"Good, granny : here I will stay." So, he stayed with her
 thak-dun-lo. Ansi aphi hemepi pulo—"H. K., nang
 (doublet). *Then his granny the widow said—"H. K., do you*
 sok te-dun-non ; ne recho-arong sok-sang
the paddy spread out to dry ; I in the king's village paddy-rice
 rek-dam-po. Mo sok te-det nang
 to beg am going. After paddy you have spread out, you
 lang-chinglu dam-ji-set-ta, lang-thak dam-ri : la
in the stream bathe to go if want, up-stream go not : this
 etum a-hem a-longle chinglu." Ansi sok-te-
 of us two house ground (upon) bathe. Then paddy having
 det aphi hem-epi recho-arong dam-lo.
spread out his granny the widow to king's village went.
 H. K. sok pon lo : harlo-dun-lotsi
 H. K. the paddy took : having turned it over frequently
 palom-pet pe-reng-det-si sok
in a very short time having thoroughly dried it the paddy
 oi-si lang chinglu-dam-lo.
having collected together in the stream he went to bathe.

Ansi H. K. matha-voi-phak "kopi-apotsi ne-phi
 Then H. K. thought again—"for what reason my granny
 'langthak dam-ri' pu ne-kepu-tekan-lo-ma ? Lang-thak
 'up stream go not' saying me telling went away ? Up stream
 nang-dam-si nang-lang-dam-ji-lang," pusi langthak
 there going I will go and see for myself : " so saying up stream

Sok is paddy, rice in the husk ; *sang* is rice freed from husk and ready for cooking ; *an* is boiled rice ; *te*, a verb, "to spread out paddy to dry."

"*Harlo*," a verb, "to turn over" (the spread-out paddy) ; *reng*, a verb, of the spread-out paddy, "to become dry" ; *oi*, a verb, "to collect into a heap" the dried paddy. *Lang-thak nang-dam-si nang-lang-dam-ji-lang* : in this sentence the word *lang*, which occurs thrice, has three different significations: the first *lang* is a noun, "water, river" ; the second is a verb, "to see, look at" ; the third *lang* is an auxiliary verb, "to continue doing, or being," used here pleonastically.

damlo. Ser alang-the rup alangthe kephuk
he went. Gold water-vessels silver water-vessels broken
 thek-dam-lo. "O lasi 'langthak dam-ri' pu
he, going, saw. "Oh, that was why 'up-stream go not' saying
 ne-phi ne-ke pu-tekan-le. Ningve neng-arju-ji,
my granny told me when she went away. To-night I will ask her,
 komat-ching a-langhe ne." Ansi hem nang-chevoilo.
whose watering-place it is." So home he returned.

Ansi a-phi hem-epi^{ta} recho-arong-pen arni
Then his granny the widow-also king's village-from in the
 kangsam hem nang-chevoilo. Ansi a-ningve an-cho-det
afternoon home returned. Then that night rice having eaten
 jun-det H. K. arju-lo : "Komat-ching a-langhe ma,
having drank H. K. asked : "Whose watering-place is it,
 la lang-thak? Ser alangthe rup alangthe kephuk
that up stream? Gold water-vessels silver water-vessels broken

oi-cho." Ansi hem-epi pulo : "Langthak dam-ri pu
are strewn." Then the widow said "Up-stream, go-not saying
 ne nang kepu-tekan : nang arju-je-det-si nang langthak
I you told at parting: you not hearing (obeying) there up-stream
 dam avi-le?" Ansi H. K. thak-lo— "Dam-te-ma, phi:
went surely? Then H. K. answered—"Yes, I did go, granny :
 ne-than-tha, komat-ching a-langhe ma." Ansi aphi
explain to me, whose watering place it is." Then his granny
 hem-epi than-lo : "Bari-the Recho a-langhe;
the widow explained : "Palace-great king's watering place :
 asomar, korte bang-therok, lang-nang-kachinglu-adim :
his children, sisters six, in the water bathing-place (it is):
 dam-ri-non aparke." Ansi H.K. matha-voiphak—"Ne+
go not now any more." Then H. K. considered again—My

Ser, rup, "gold, silver," see note, p. 111, ante. Notice the rare form *neng* for *ne*, "I"; nasals seem occasionally to be added or dropped at will at the end of words: e.g. *da* and *dam*, "go"; *ong* and *o*, "much, many"; *la* and *lang*, auxiliary verb. *Komat-ching-a-langhe ne*: *ching* is a particle strengthening the interrogative *komat*,—"who-ever?" *langhe*, a *ghat* or watering place: *ne* the interrogative particle borrowed from Assamese,=*ma* in Mikir.

Bari-the Recho, "king of the Great Palace"; *bari*, "a large house," loan-word from Assamese: *the*, "great."

phi dam-ri-thu pusi, ne-pu nang-dam-thu-
 granny 'go not again' having said, as for me, there going again
 ji-lang." Ansi langthak dam-thu-lo. lang-
 I will continue." Then up stream he went again. River
 kung chipatu-joi-si nerlo-chitim Bari-the
 bank (under) hiding himself quietly, day-middle Palace-great
 Recho asomar korte bang-therok lang-nang-chinglu-
 King's children, sisters six, (in) the river for the purpose
 ji-si vanglo. Nang-klo-et-jo akan
 of bathing came. Descending there beautifully their clothes
 nang-chi-bi-kok lang sun-phit:
 there having laid aside into the water they jumped all at once:
 inut akān nang-chibi-kok lang sun-
 each one her clothes having laid aside into the water jumped
 phit, keme-ong chiklo-tur-det arni tur-det lale
 at once, most lovely! moon-splendour sun-splendour (like), there
 kachinglu lale kachingthi. Ansi arni ingsam-
 they bathed, there they washed themselves. So the day became
 jin-lo. Akleng nang-pinkhat-lo: "Ai etmarli -
 cool gradually. The eldest there-admonished-them: "O my dears!
 kitum aporlo, kedang aporlo, e-vo chibeng
 cooking-time it is, serving-up-time it is, our fowls to house
 apor, e-phak chibeng aporlo: e-pi e-tampo,
 time it is, our pigs to house time it is: our mother us will scold,
 e-po e-tampo, dam-po-nang." Ansi chinglu-tanglo,
 our father us will scold, let us go!" So bathing-they finished,
 chingthi-tanglo: inut akan nang-chihijir-
 washing themselves they finished: one her clothes shaking out

Nang-klo-et-jo "there they descended beautifully"; *klo*, "to fall or sink down from a height"; *et* a syllable indicating beauty or charm; Mr. Stack notes that it is perhaps connected with the word *etpi*, "yellow, golden"; it is also used as an affectionate form of address in *et-mar-li*, "my dears!" *jo*, plural affix. *Kan*, a ceremonious word for clothes; the ordinary expression is *pe* or *ri*. *Sun-phit*: *phit* means "all at once," "suddenly." *Tur*, "the brightness, splendour" (of the moon and sun).

The syllable *jin* in *arni ingsam-jin-lo* indicates the day gradually drawing on to evening. *Apor-lo*: notice the verbal affix *-lo* appended to the noun *por*, "time." *Beng*, "to house animals for the night." *Hijir*, "to shake out," as a bird its wings before starting to fly.

phlum-phlum chi-i-lok-si ingjar-et, inut
so as to flap, having put on flew away beautifully, another
 akan chihijir-phlum ingjar-et,
her clothes having shaken out so as to flap flew away beautifully,
 ansi akibi-si-ke aphi ingjar-et-jo,
and the youngest of all afterwards flew away beautifully
 chiklo-atur arni-atur thelalak. Sining
moon's-brightness sun's brightness just like. The heaven
 lut-le-tik, lale H. K. kelang-dun puke angphun
not entered-until, there H. K. stood gazing so that his neck (in)
 chepekek-koi. Ansi sining lutkoi-lo,
he got a crook altogether. So the heaven they entered quite,
 thek-dun-de-lo : ansi hem chevoilo. H. K. aning
he saw them no more : so home he returned. H. K. in his mind
 mathalo "an akeme, an akechok, nang en-long-le-tik
thought "so beautiful ! so lovely ! here until I can get one to wife,
 nang-kim-long-le-tik
here until I can build the wedding bower (subaud, I will not rest);
 ningve ne-phi nang-arju-le-po." Ansi hem le-
to-night my granny I will ask again about them." So home having
 rok an-cho-det jun-det H. K. aphi arjulo :—
arrived rice having eaten having drunk H. K. his granny asked :
 "Mai! phi! la-sontot akeme la-sontot akechok ne thek-long-
 "Oh! granny! that-like beautiful, that-like lovely I saw got
 le-lang; kopusi ke-en long-po-ma? bidi ne
never; how to take one to wife shall I attain to? a plan to me
 than-tha!" Aphi pudet—"Ai H. K. ! bang-ke
explain!" His granny answered—"O H. K. ! those ones

Phlum-phlum, onomatopoetic adverb imitating the sound of flapping;
i, "to put on one's clothes": *a-ri kachi-i*, "he is putting on his *dhoti*";
pini kachi-i, "she is putting on her petticoat"; in this sense the verb *i*
 takes *lok* as its constant adverbial supplement: when it means "to lie
 down," "to sleep," it takes *lot*. Observe how the distributive force of
 the sentence is expressed by repeating the whole phrase. *Angphun*
chepekek-koi "he made his neck (*ingphum*) crooked (*kek-dang* or *kek-juk*)";
koi, a particle meaning "completely, altogether." *En* "take," and *kim*,
 "build," both mean "to marry"; the latter implies the building of a
 separate house for the newly wedded couple, or perhaps the wedding
 bower.

arnam-aso arni-aso recho-aso kethe-aso
god's children sun's children king's children great one's children
 kopusi nangke arleng-aso-le ke-en-
(are): how should you, who are but a child of man, succeed in
long-ji-ma? H. K. pulo—"kali, ,phi! en-long
getting one to wife?" H. K. said—"not so, granny! get one
 nang-ji: bidi ne than-non."
to wife I must: a plan to me explain."

Than-the tik-tak arju-ver-si
Did not-explain (she) so-long-as (he) continuing to ask,
 than-lo: "Nang ke-en-ji-pet-tangte, la lang-kung-
she explained: "You are-bent-on-wedding-one-if, that river-bank-
le rit pan-dam-non." Ansi H. K. pulo—"Me-ong-chot-lo,
on a field to clear go." And H. K. said—"Very good,
 phi: menap-pen-apara pan-dam-po." Ansi
granny: to-morrow-from I will go and clear it." And

adap the-ang the-ang-e lang-ding:
the morning dawning not dawning he continued to watch:
 ansi adap ing-thanglo. Ansi nopak e-pak
so (at last) the morning dawned fully. Then a dao one

che-pon-si dam-lo. Le-rok-pen do-de,
taking with him he went. Arriving-from he waited not,
 sang-se, lale kepan lale kepan, arni-si-pet
he rested not there clearing there clearing, in one day only

pan-det pi-det, ansi mam thilo, mie keilo:
he cleared it fully (doublet), then jungle cut, fire set-to-it:

lale kecho puke, abeng akok
there it (the fire) ate it up so quickly, a piece of wood, a stalk
 thi-rok-re cho-et. Ansi thengthe, hanjang, nok-
lying-not it devoured. Then maize, millet, sugar-came,

Arleng-aso: notice that here the word *arleng* evidently means a human being, opposed to *arnam-aso*, the child of a divine person. *Pan*, "to cut down and clear the jungle for cultivation." *Lang-ding* "continue to watch": *ding* a particle of continuance (cf. *keding*, tall, long). *Pan-det pi-det*; here *pi* has the sense of "to cut down" (a tree, or something thick): so also *thi*. *Man*, "the jungle." Further on, in *thi-rok re*, *thi* means "to lie": *Pisi dak le kethi-rok-ma?* "why are you lying here?" *rok* is an adverbial supplement.

phingu, arche-lo, aphu-thak-ta mir phek-e,
plantain he dibbled in, over and above also (name of a flower),
 tado, mir-kadomphui, ason-son mir e-lo.
white lily, marigold, various kinds flowers he planted.
 Ansi Bari-the Recho asomar lang nang-chinglu-
Then Palace-great King's daughters (in the) river there-to bathe-
 lelo: nang-klo-et-jo keme thek-the-ong
arrived: there they descended beautifully, lovely to impossibility,
 puke—chiklo-le vang-phlot, arni-le vang-phlot thelalak.
so— moon-as-if came down sun-as-if came down just like.
 Ansi chinglu-tangdet chingthi-tangdet,
Then having finished bathing having finished washing themselves,
 H. K. ateran nang-thevlo. Ansi pulo— "Mai!
H. K.'s garden-plot they saw there. So they said—"Oh!
 komat arti-ma? me-ong-he." Akleng thak-det—
whose field is it? it is very pretty." The eldest answered—
 "E-korpo H. K. ateran le-ma."
"Our cousin (brother-in-law) H. K.'s garden plot it must be."
 Ansi sining chingjar-thu-et-jo-lo. H. K.
Then to heaven they flew away again beautifully together. H. K.
 "namtusi ke-en-long-po-ma?" pu matha-ding,
"how shall I succeed in getting her?" saying continued to think,
 ansi aphi arju-thu-le-lo— "Ai phi!
and. his granny went and asked again—"Oh. granny!
 namtu-ching-si ke-en-long-apotlo-ma?" Aphi
when and how am I to succeed in getting one?" His granny

Arche is used of sowing or planting many things together, as here: to sow or plant only one thing is *e*: *thengthe ke-e*, "he is sowing maize"; *sok ke-rik*, "he is sowing rice broad-cast"; *sok ke-e*, "he is transplanting rice." *Mir-phek-e*: *mir*, "flower," *phek-e*, "rice-husks": a flower that grows out of heaps of rice-husks; has a long narrow leaf and a flower which is red and white mixed" (Stack); *tado*, "a kind of white lily or arum with a yellow style" (*id.*). *Keme-thek-the-ong puke*: "so (puke) beautiful (*keme*) excessively (*ong*) as never was seen (*thek-the*)."
Vang-phlot: *phlot*, a particle indicating suddenness. *Teran*, an individual plot, as distinguished from the *rit* or general field. *E korpo H. K. ateran-le-ma*: *korpo*, "cousin (mother's brother's son)," also indicates the relationship between a woman and her sister's husband; here of course it is used in the latter sense, proleptically; it is characteristic of this story-teller that he discloses the *denouement* of his tale well in advance. Notice the idiom *-le-ma*, "it must be," an indirect question—"is it not?"

thakdet—"La-pu-pe-long, asu-po: hem-thap
 answered—"That-way-not, grandson-dear: a jungle hut
 chi-kim-tha." Ansi adap hem-thap kim-dam-
 build for yourself." So in the morning a jungle hut he went to
 lo. Arni-si-pet hem-thap thepi kim-det-si hem
 build. In one day only a jungle hut very big having-built home
 chevoilo, ansi "hem-thap tango, phi," pu
 he returned, and "the jungle hut I have finished, granny," saying
 than-lo. "Tangte pongsi che-et-non,"
 he explained. "Then (in) a flute bore a hole for yourself,"
 pusi aphi pinkhat-lo. Ansi pongsi che-
 saying his granny advised him. Then flutes he bored several
 et-o. Ansi thengthe-apor hanjang-aporlo.
 for himself. So maize-time millet-time it became.
 Aphi pinkhat-lo—"Hem-thap chehon-dam-ra
 His granny advised him—"In your jungle hut going to watch
 pongsi but-non." Arit putangte, palom-pet late
 flute blow." His field as-for, in a very little time there
 mir kangthu-puke, matha thek-the-det. Ansi
 flowers blossomed-so, it could not be imagined. Then
 Bari-the Recho asomar lang nang-chinglu-el-lo:
 grant-Palace King's children in the river there to bathe arrived:
 nang-ingjar-et-jo inut akan chi-bi-kok lang
 there flying beautifully one he clothes laying aside in the river
 sun-phit, inut \ akan chi-bi-kok lang
 jumped straight, another her clothes laying aside in the river
 sun-phit, lale kachinglu lale kachingthi. Ansi
 jumped straight, there bathed there washed themselves. Then
 akleng: nang-pinkhat-le-lo—"Da, etmarli, dam-po-
 the eldest there advised them again—"Come, dears, let us
 nang." H. K. lale pongsi kebut puke, matha-thek-
 go." H. K. thereupon his flute blew so, it could not be

Pongsi, Ass. bansi, "a flute," made of a piece of bamboo; et, to bore a hole. Che-et-o "he (cut and) bored holes in a number of flutes"; o seems to be a shortened form of ong, many: hem kim-o, "they built a number of huts"; ne vo nam-o-lo, "I have bought a lot of fowls."

the-det. "Mai! pongsi-kebut-ta ju-me-ong:
 imagined. "Oh! flute-playing indeed is very good to hear:
 H. K. abang do-avi: da etmarli, mir che-hang
 H. K. a person it is surely: come, dears, flowers to beg
 dam-si-nang"; ansi vanglo. "H. K., nitum mir
 let us go"; so they went. "H. K., we flowers
 chilok-pon-chot-lang, chilok-pon ning-
 for ourselves pluck take a few wish, pluck and take are you
 ke-ma, po?" "Chilok-pon ningke-ma,"
 willing that we, sir?" "Pluck and take, I am willing certainly,"
 pu, H. K. pulo. Ansi abang-phu-ta mir chilok-
 saying, H. K. said. So each one of them flowers having
 pon-si damlo, ingjar-pon-et-jo.
 plucked and taken went away, they flew away gracefully together.
 Sining lut-le-tiktak, H. K. late kelang-dun-puke
 In heaven (they) not entered so long, H. K. there continued gazing so,
 amek chi-peso-koi, ano chi-peso-koi.
 his eyes became quite sore, his ears (i.e. eyes) became quite-sore.
 Ansi sining lut-koi-lo: thek-dun-de-
 So the heaven they entered completely: he-could-no-longer-see-
 lo-pu-ansi, H. K. ta hem chevoilo. Ansi aphi-
 them-when, H. K. also home returned. Then his granny
 hem-epi nang-arjulo—"Mini Bari-the Recho
 the widow there asked him—"To-day great-Palace King's
 asomar nang chingki-pon-ma?" "Chingki-pon-te;
 children with did converse?" "Yes, they conversed ;
 mir-ta ne kehang-pon-langle." Ansi
 flowers even me they asked to be allowed to gather." Then

Ju-me-ong, "it is very good to hear": *ju* is shortened from *arju*; the prefix *ar-* is separable in this word and in *arni*, "day, sun," *arlong* "stone," and several other words, which appear in composition as *ni* and *long*, etc.; it seems probable that it is connected with the Tibetan prefix *r-*, to which the Mikir relative particle, *a-*, has been prefixed. Notice *nitum* for *netum*, possibly by vowel harmony with the following words *mir* and *chilok*. *Chilok-pon ningke-ma*: observe that this phrase stands both for the request and its answer—*ningke*, "willing"; *ning*, "mind";—*ma* is thus not only the interrogative particle, but also indicates its corresponding affirmative reply. *A-mek*, *a-no*, "eyes and ears"=eyes only. *Mini*, *menap* (*minap*), alternative terms for *pini*, *penap*, "to-day, to-morrow."

aphi bidi thanlo: "Menap-ta arni keme:
his granny a plan explained: "To-morrow (is) a day good:

Bari-the Recho asomar lang nang-chinglu-le-ji-
Great palace King's children in the river there to bathe-arriving-
apotke, chipatu-joi-ra lang-dun-ton-non. La
on-as-soon-as, hiding yourself quietly watch secretly. Those
akleng-atum korte bang-phongo-ke apengnan do-angse-lo.
elder (plural) sisters persons five husbands have all got.

Akibi-si det-lo, latu Mon Recho
The youngest only, her Mon Raja (King of the winds)
asopo-aphan kerai-dun; horbong horte
his son-for is asking in marriage; the beer-gourds (doublet)
le-koi-lo. Bonta la-det-lo, la-apini-le
have all arrived. Nevertheless her only, her petticoat (accus.)

pangthek-dun-ra lang kachinglu-aphi
having carefully singled out, in the river they-have-plunged-after,
dak van-non. Ne la-sontot apini alar-thak-po:
here bring to me. I it-just like a petticoat in exchange will weave:

lale pon-ra adim-thot bi-pi-dam-thu-non.
that taking in that same place go and set it down again.
La-apini-binong-ke patu-joi-po-nang. Ansi alang, ingiar-
Her-petticoat-own hide-quietly-let-us. Then she to fly away

dun-the-the-lo. Lale apini nang
with the others will not be able. There her petticoat you
che-hang-lo-te, 'inut-le-inut ne-do-non' pu-ra
she asks for-if, 'one or other of you become my wife' saying
pu-non." "To, me-ong-chot-lo, Phi," pu H. K. pulo.
say." "Yes, very good indeed, granny," saying H. K. said.

Aphi labangso abidi than-chek-pen-apara, H. K.
His granny that plan having explained-after, H. K.'s
aning among kedo matha-the-the-det; ajo-ta
mind cheerful became as you cannot imagine; the whole night

Do-angse-lo=*do-koi-lo*, "have all got."

Mon Recho, probably shortened for *Tomon-Recho*; *tomon*, "wind."
Rai-dun, special verb for "to ask in marriage." *Bong*, "gourd for
holding beer"; *te*, doublet, *Thak*, "to weave." *Than chek*, "to
explain"; *chek* strengthens verbs for imparting information. *Aning*
among kedo: *rong*, "delight," Ass. loan-word.

amek jangthek-the a-no jang-thek-the matha-ding.
his eyes close he could not (doublet), but continued thinking.

Ansi adap ing-thanglo : an-chodet jundet
Then morning fully dawned : having eaten rice having drunk
 arit chedamlo. "Namtu-ching-si nerlo chitim-po-ma ?"
his field (to) he went. "When day middle will it be?"

pu inghong-ding ; ansi sangti-arlo chi-patu-dam-
saying he continued waiting ; then sand-beneath he hid himself

joi. Anke nerlo-chitim Bari-the Recho asomar
quietly. So at mid-day Great Palace king's children
 vanglo : nang-ingjar-et-jo, inut akan nang-chi-
came : there they flew down gracefully, one her clothes putting

bi-kok lang-sun-phit inut akan nang-chi-bi-kok
aside plunged into the river, another her clothes laying aside

lang-sun-phit, ansi langkachinglu-aphi H. K.
plunged into the river, and they had entered the water after H. K.

thur-joi-si la-kibi-si apini ajiso inghu-
rising quietly that youngest one's petticoat striped cloth stealing
 pon-det-si aphi hem-epi along pon-phit-lo.

and taking away his granny the widow- to took it straightway,

Ansi aphi la-sontot apini ajiso thak-
And his granny it just like a petticoat a striped cloth wove in
 thu-lo, palom-pet thak-det. Ansi H. K. nang-

exchange, in a very short time she wove them. Then H. K. there

kat-thu-voi-lo, adim-thot-si pini jiso bi-dam-
van back again, place-that-same-in petticoat striped cloth putting

thu-si, ahem-thap chevangsi pongsi but-lo :
down in exchange, his jungle-hut going into, the flute played :

lale kebut puke matha-thek-the jadi-thek-the. Ansi
there he played so that it could not be imagined (doublet). Then

chinglu dor-lo, chingthi-dor-lo.
they had enough of bathing they had enough of washing themselves.

Ansi akleng nang-pinkhat-le-lo— "Ai etmarli.
Then the eldest there admonished them again—"O my dears!

Notice again amek ano for "eyes" only.

dam-po-nang ; ketok-apor, keset-
let us go ; it is (rice) pounding time, it is time for the second
aporlo ; ketun-apor kedang-aporlo ; kebe-
pounding ; it is cooking-time, it is setting-on time ; it is time to
apor, kesor-aporlo." Ansi akan nang-
heat the beer, time to squeeze it out." Then her clothes there
chi-i-det-si pu-thu-le-lo— "Da, mir che-hang-dam-si-nang."
having put on she said again—"Come, flowers let us go and beg."
Ansi mir chelok-dam-det anke aphrangsi akleng
Then flowers having gone to pluck thereupon first the eldest
ingjarlo : ansi akibi-atum-ta ingjar-dun-et-jo-
flew up ; then the younger ones also flew up with her gracefully
lo ; ansi akibi-ta ingjar-dun-lo
all together ; then the youngest also tried to fly with them,
ingjar-dun-the-k-the-det : ingjar-tang-te, nang-klo-thu-
but found she was unable to fly : if she flew up, there she fell back
bup ; ingjar-dun-chot, nang-klo-thu-bup.
again ; if she tried to fly with them, there she fell back again.
Ansi akleng pulo—"Mai ! kopi-ching apotlo-ma ?"
Then the eldest said—"Oh ! what in the world is the matter ?"
Ansi akleng-atum-ta nang-chihir-thu-voiphak-lo, ansi
Then the elder ones also there came down again, and
H. K. along vangsi pulo—"Ai H. K., nang si
H. K.'s place coming said—"O H. K., you it is who our younger
ne-mu apini lar-det avi, apot-ke
sister's petticoat have changed without doubt, therefore
van-non" pu-hang-lo. Ansi H. K. thak-det—
bring it back" saying they called out. Then H. K. answered—
"Inut-le-inut ne-do-te." Bari-the Recho asomar
"One or other of you be my wife." Great-Palace King's children

Tok, a verb with the general meaning "to thrust, poke"; used already above (p. 116) for thrusting with a spear; here for pounding the rice with a long pestle (*lengpum*) in the mortar (*long*); another sense is "to write" ("to poke with a pen"). *Set*, "to give the half-cleaned rice a second pounding." *Dang*, "to serve up the cooked food." *Be* "to heat the fermented rice"; *sor*, "to press out the beer" from the grains, mixed with warm water, which have been put in the conical strainer of woven bamboo, *si*, by pressing down upon them a gourd, *bong*.

pudet : "Kopusi nang-kedo apotlo? netum ne-pengan
said : "How you to marry is it possible? we our-husbands
kedo-tang, ne-pengan kedo-tang rep-le."

have got already, our husbands have got already married to us."

H. K. pudet—"Tangte ne pini nang-pi-the-k-the :

H. K. said—"Then I petticoat you give up cannot :
inut-le-inut ne-do-ma-si." Ansi Bari-the Recho

one or other of you me must marry." Then Great-Palace King's

asomar chepulo : "Te, nang-do-nong."

children said one to another : "Sister (elder), do you marry him."

Akleng thak-det : "Kopusi ne-le kedo-ji?

The eldest answered : "How should I marry him?

ne-so kechan-jai-le." "Tangte adak-vam, nang-

I-children several have already." "Then the next, do you

le do-non." "Kopusi ne kedo-the-k-po? ne

marry him." "How I should be able to marry him! I

ningke ne-so bang-phili tang-det-le." "Adakvam-

myself also my children four have got already." "Second sister-

adun, nang-le do-non tangte." "Kopusi kedo-

next-to, do you marry him then." "How can I possibly

the-k-ji? ne ningke ne-so bang-kethom

marry him? I also my children three

tang-det-le." "Tangte adakvam-adun-le-thot, nangle

have got already." "Then second sister-next-to-next, do you

do-non." "Ne-ta ne?so bang-hini tang-det-le

marry him." "I too children two have got already,

kopusi kedo-po?" "Nang adak-vam-adun-

how should I marry him?" "You second-sister-next-to-

le-thot, nang-le do-non." "Do-the-k-the, ne-ta

next following, do you marry him." "I cannot marry him, I too

ne-so inut tang-det-le-ma?" "Tangte nang

my child one have I not already?" "Then you

akibi-si-le do-non." Akibi-si thak-det-

the youngest, do you marry him." "The youngest answered—

Rep seems to be a variant of rap (explained above, p. 118), and

indicates that all of them have been married together. Chan-jai, "to have

several children."

"Ne-tu, Mon Recho asopo-aphan ne kerai-dun
 "As for me, Mon Raja his son-for me is asking in marriage
 tang-det-le: hor-bong hor-te nang-le-koi-lo; pusi
 already: the gourds of beer there arrived all have; how
 kedo-the-k-po?" Akleng-atum pudet—"Bonta
 can I possibly marry him?" The elder sisters said—"But
 nang pangri-re-det-lang-le-ma: nang-le do-non-et!
 you are not married yet: do you marry him, dear!
 Ingting-po, netum dam-po: ha hem-ta e-vo
 It will be dark soon, we must be going: there at home our fowls
 e-phak ingreng-jo-si-do-po; aphu-thak-ta e-pi
 our pigs will all be calling out for us; moreover our mother
 e-po nang-lang-phrong-si-do-po. Netum-ta
 our father there will be looking out for us. We also,
 vang-bom-ji-le-ma?" Ansi akibi-ta
 shall we not continue to come and see you?" Then the youngest
 pulo—"Pu lang-ma te-marli? do-po,
 said—"What is to be done, sisters? I will marry him,
 nang-tum dam-non; e-pi e-po aningthi-let-ji."
 do you go; our mother our father will be very angry."
 Ansi akleng-abang pulo—"H. K., nang than-
 Then the eldest one said—"H. K., you (our) instruction from
 bom-ta arju-je-det-lo, apotke ne-mu
 time to time would not listen to, therefore our youngest sister
 nang-tekan-po; bonta aduk pi-ri alak
 here we are leaving; nevertheless grief give her not, trouble
 pi-ri; ketun toi-ri, kadang toi-ri;
 give her not; to cook send her not, to serve up send her not;

Pangri-re-det-lang-le-ma; here again two verbs each have the negative affix, *pangri* and *lang*, the latter an auxiliary signifying "to continue to be." *Pangri* in the sense "to marry," is the causal of *ingri*, "to drink copiously of liquor"; the description of the marriage ceremony at p. 18 shows the important part which is taken in it by alcoholic drinks. *Ingting-po*, "it will be dark": observe the impersonal use of the verb, without a substantive: we may say *ajo kangting-par*, "the night is very dark."

Nang-lang-phrong-si-do-po; *phrong* is one of the particles used to indicate plurality: "they will all be looking out for (*lang*) us there (*nang*)."
Bom, one of the verbs indicating continuance may be rendered "from time to time."

aphu-thak-ta a-ri su-ri-tha, akeng su-ri-tha." Ansi
 moreover her hand touch not, her foot touch not." So

a-mu che-pere-tekan-si sining
 their younger sister having instructed and left behind to heaven
 chingpar-thu-et-jo-lo. Sining lut-le
 they flew up again beautifully together. Heaven not entered
 tiktak, chi-lang-dun-ding:

so-long-as, they (H. K. and his wife) continued gazing together :
 ansi thek-dun-de-lo. Pu-ansi H. K. pulo--
 then they could see them no more. Then H. K. said—

"Ingting-po, e-tum-ta dam-po-nang" Ansi H. K.
 "It is getting dark, let us also go our way." So H. K.
 aning among do-lo, jo-arni thijok ke-ap phak-leng
 his mind joyful lived, night-and-day deer shooting wild-pig
 ke-ap a-ur kreng-kre a-rap
 shooting, his platform (for drying flesh) was never dry his shelf
 kreng-kre.

was never dry.

Ansi ningkan isi ingtang-lo. "Ai phi, ne hem
 So a year one came to an end. "O granny, 'I home
 chedampo pusi ne-kepulo, kolopu-lo-ma?" ' pu
 I will go' saying I say to myself, what am I to do?" saying
 H. K. pulo. "Nang hem-tang-det, nang rit-tang-
 H. K. said. "You have your own house, you have your own
 det-le-ma, chedam-ta me; bonta nang-peso nang che-me-
 field indeed, you can go, well; but your wife with you does
 me-lang." "Bonta," H. K. pudet, "ningkan-isi-lo-
 not get on well yet." "But," H. K. said, "a year one (whole)

A-ri su-ri-tha, a-keng su-ri-tha : this injunction not to touch the hand or foot of the fairy princess has different parallels in other lands; in the Celebes version referred to on p. 72 it is the hair that is not to be touched. *Pe-re*, causal of *re*, "to be knowing, clever." *Ur*, a platform or screen for drying flesh in the sun; *rap* includes also a shelf in the house.

Kreng, to be dry, bears the same relation to *reng*, dry (ante, p. 122), as *klang* (p. 99), to perceive, does to *lang*, to look at; in both the prefix *ke-* has apparently been incorporated in the root.

Chedam-ta-me "You can go if you like": observe the force of *me*, "well, good." [*Che-me-me-lang*: the verb *me* here seems to be the Assamese *mel*, "agreement" not the Mikir word for "good." Observe the idiomatic expression *ningkan isi-lo-le-ma thi*, in answer to an objection:

le-ma-thi, phi." "Bonta nang che-me-me-la."
it is, though, granny. "Nevertheless, you have not hit it off yet."
 Ansi "Ai tangte, dam-the-k-the-lang-po" H. K. pulo. Ansi
 Then "Oh, then, go I cannot yet," H. K. said. Then
 H. K. late katiki lale kanghoi puru kelong
 H. K. there working in the field (doublet) barns-full getting
 phandar kelong, hem-epi ahem puke ingkro
granary-full getting, the widow's house so cylindrical receptacle
 ingtong ardung-dung. Ansi
for rice conical basket were so many (i.e. was filled with). And
 H. K. aso Arnam pilo, aso inut-lo. Ansi aphi
 H. K. a child God gave, a child one only. Then, his granny
 arju-thu-le-lo: "Ai phi ne-pi ne-po-atum a-long
 he asked again: "Oh, granny, 'my mother my father's place (to)
 chedampo-si ne kepu." Hem-epi thakdet: "Nang-
 I will go' I say to myself." The widow answered: "Your
 peso nang cheme-me-lang-ti, asupo." "Kali
 wife (to) you is not yet well reconciled, grandson dear." "Not so,
 phi, chemelo: ne so inut tang-det-lo-
 granny, she is reconciled: me child one has she not already
 le-ma?" "Da tangte: nang than-bom-ta, nang arju-
 given me?" Go them: you I repeatedly advised, you would
 thek-the-det-lo; chedam-non; bonta nang-peso nang-
 not listen to me; go together; nevertheless your wife is not
 cheme-me-lang de." Ansi H. K. apeso chepulo
 thoroughly reconciled, indeed." Then H. K. his wife (to) said
 "Ai nang-pi, i-li-ta e-hem chedam-po-nang." Apeso
 "O thou dear one, we two our home let us go." His wife
 thakdet, "Da, nang ne kepon aling-lo-he." Ansi adap-
 replied, "Go, you me taking wherever you will." So it became
 lo: an-cho-det jun-det damlo. Tovar
 morning: rice having eaten having drunk they started. Road

so one says, in reply to a request for payment, *ne nang pi-tang-det-lo-le-ma-thi* "but I have paid you already!" Observe that in *nang che-me-me-la* the last syllable=*lang* without its nasal. *Aso Arnam pi-lo*, "God gave a child": possibly this phrase is due to the narrator, who it will be remembered was a Christian. *Ti*, a particle="not yet reconciled." *De*, a particle of asseveration, "indeed," probably the Assamese *dei*.

e-beng lelo. Ansi asopo-pen apeso-pen avam
a piece (of) they arrived. Then his child and his wife his waist
 tampong-het-si, poho-pen
putting between waist and girdle firmly, with his turban
 che-vam-phong-het-lo. Ansi dam dam dam,
he bound well round his body. So as they went on their way,
 vo-har alopo inglong nang arke-dut,
a jungle-fowl male on the mountain (side) there was scratching,
 arlok nang-arke-dut matha-theek-the jadi-theek-the. Ansi
the precipice was scratching inconceivably (doublet). Then
 H. K. pulo—"Chi, vahar-alopo, kopi kacheplang-ma? ne
 H. K. said—"Oh, jungle-cock, what are you doing there? I
 hem kachedam-tong tovar ne pek-non."
home am-going-in-a-hurry, the way to me leave free." The
 Vohar alopo thakdet—"Tovar nang kepek-ji
jungle cock answered—"The way to you I will leave free by na
 kali: 'mini H. K. apeso aso chevan-po' tang
means: 'to-day H. K. his wife his child will bring' so much
 pusi akhat akhat amang amang ne nang
saying to myself, the way he is coming (doublet) I here
 keton-le." H. K. pu-voiphak—"Che, pulem-det-ri! emoke
am watching. H. K. rejoined—"Oh, joke do not! hereafter
 "H. K. apeso aso hem rit chevan-ansi ne-pran
'H. K. his wife his child house field (to) bringing while, my life
 ne-mui damlo' pu pupa-na." Vohar alopo pudet,
my soul is gone' thus do not have to say." The jungle cock said,
 "Pupe. Mini nang-ta-me ne-ta-me." H. K.
"I do not say so. To-day either you or I (will prevail)." H. K.
 pulo "Sakhit-ma?" "Sakhit." "Dohai-ma?"
 said "Is that true?" "Yes, true." "Do you swear it?"

Het, a particle used with verbs meaning to tie, bind, in the sense of "firmly, securely." *Dut*, a particle used with verbs of scratching or cutting. *Tong*, a particle indicating hurry or haste. *Emoke* "in a little time": *mo*, "space or interval of time," *e-* particle of unity, as in *e-jon*, *e-beng*. *Pulem*, "to say in joke: *pu*, "say," *lem*, "seem, pretend." *Pran*, Assamese. *Pu-pa-na* "don't have to say": *na* Assamese. *Nang-ta-me*, *ne-ta-me*, idiomatic, "it will be well with you or it will be well with me," i.e. "either you or I will come off the better." *Dohai*, "an oath"; probably the Assamese *dohai*, "call for justice": *senté* (the Khasi *smái*) is also used.

"Dohai." Ansi H. K. athai chepaching-kangsi abop.
 "I swear." So H. K. his bow having set shot him.

Ansi dam-thu-chot, vo-rek alopo tovar nang-
 Then a little further he went, a cock pheasant the way right
 parpan-pet inglong nang-arke-dut, arlok nang-
 across the mountain there was scratching, the precipice there

arkedut matha-the-k-the jadi-the-k-the. Ansi H. K.
 was scratching in an extraordinary manner. Then H. K.

pulelo "Chi vo-rek-alopo, kopi nang-cheplang-ma ? ne hem
 said again "Oh, cock pheasant, what are you doing there ? I home

kache-dam-tong, tovar ne-pek-non." Vo-rek
 am in a hurry to go, the way leave free for me." The cock
 alopo pudet—"Tovar nang kepek-ji kali :
 pheasant said—"The road to you I will yield by no means :

'mini H. K. apeso aso chevan-po-tang' pusi akhat
 'to-day H. K. his wife his son will bring along' saying the way
 akhat amang amang ne nang-keton-le." H. K. pudet—"Chi,
 he is coming (doublet) I am watching." H. K. said—"Oh,

pulem-det-ri ! emoke 'H. K. apeso aso chevan-ansi
 don't joke ! hereafter 'H. K. his wife his son bringing-while
 ne-pran ne-mui dam-lo' pupa-na." Vorek alopo
 my life my soul departed' don't have to say." The cock-pheasant

pudet "pupe." H. K. pu-le-lo—"Sakhit-ma ?"
 said "I don't say so." H. K. said again "Is that true ?"
 "Sakhit." "Dohai-ma ?" "Dohai." Ansi H. K. athai
 "True." "Do you swear ?" "I swear." Then H. K. his how
 chepaching-kangsi abop.

having set shot him.

Ako dam dam dam, phak-leng alopo kethe puke matha
 Forward as they went, a wild boar (male) great so as could

thek-the jadi-the-k-the, anghur angni pan-lok-phong,
 not be imagined (doublet), his snout his tusks overlapping so,
 tovar nang-par-pan pet inglong nang-thimur-phak arlok
 road there-right-across the mountain there was rooting the precipice
 nang-thimur-phak abidi thek-the-det. Ansi H. K. pulo :
 there was rooting in an extraordinary way. Then H. K. said :

"Chi, phak-leng alopo, kopi nang cheplang-ma? Tovar
"Oh, wild boar, what you are doing there? The way
ne-pek-tha : ne hem kapele serarak-ji." Phakleng alopo
leave free for me : I home want to get quickly." The wild boar
 thakdet—"Tovar nang kepek-ji kali :
answered—"The road for you I will leave free by no means :
'mini H. K. apeso aso chevan-po-tang' pusi
'to-day H. K. his wife and child will bring along,' saying to myself
akhat-akhat 'amang-amang ne nang keton-le." H. K. pudet
the way he is coming (doublet) I here am watching." H. K. said
 "Chi, pulem-det-ri ! jasemet ma-pu-ma?" Phak-leng alopo
"Oh, don't jest ! is it true or not?" The wild boar
 pulo "Jasemet." H. K. pudet—"Emoke 'H. K. apeso
said "It is true." H. K. said "Hereafter 'H. K. his wife
aso hem chevan-ansi ne-pram-lo ne-mui dam-lo'
his son home while bringing my life is gone, my soul is gone'
pupa-na." Phakleng alopo pudet—"Pu-pa."
don't have to say." The wild boar said—"I don't say so."
 "Sakhit-ma?" "Sakhit." "Dohai-ma?" "Dohai."
"Is that true?" "It is true." "Do you swear?" "I swear!"
 "Chi, tangte"—pu a-thai chepaching-kangsi abop. Ansi
"Oh then"—saying his bow having set he shot him. So
hem-le-ji-dok-dok-lo, chilonghe tham-therok
(when) he had nearly arrived at his home, worm eats clods six
pangrum-si H. K. sarnung vardamlo. Ansi
having collected H. K. the roof (on) went and threw them. Thus
atepi pulo—"H. K. vanglo ! To inghoi
his elder sister-in-law said "H. K. has arrived ! Then the stools
kecham inghu kecham." Ansi inghoi inghu kapat kapleng
wash the seats wash !" So the stools seats planks benches
cham-lo. Ansi H. K. phakleng e-jon van-si,
they washed. Then H. K. wild-boar one having brought.

Bop, to shoot a bird or animal ; *ap*, to let off a bow or gun.

Dok-dok, particles used to indicate that an event has nearly happened (with *ji*, future affix). *To*, imperative particle borrowed from Khasi, and prefixed, as in that language.

pai-a-re nang-bikok-si hem vanglo. Ansi
the hedge beside there having set it down home came. Then
 kelepen atepi horlang horpo him
on his arrival his eldest sister-in-law beer (doublet) bread
 sang-pher nang-pi-lo. Apeso keme-ong puke, arni
parched rice gave him there. His wife very beautiful so, sun's
 atur thelalak charsap un-e. Ansi a-ik-
splendour like, be looked in the face could not. Then his
 atumke—"paningve kopi-ching ahan-lo-ma?" pu
brothers—"To-night what in the world has happened?" saying
 ning-ri-jo. Ansi H. K. pulo: "Ne mo tovar
were perplexed. Then H. K. said "I a while ago on the way
 phakso nang-abop; ja pai-are-si me bi-tekan-
a little pig there-shot: there beside the hedge well I placed and
 kok: lale cho-phi dam-non." Ansi a-ikmar-atumke
left it: there scorch it for eating go." Then his brothers,
 korte-bang-phongo damlo; aphak kethe-ong peklem-
the brothers five, went; the boar (was) so very big, more it
 an-ta un-e: thangta chonghoi thek the.
even they could not: anything do by themselves they could not.
 Ansi H. K. dun-lo: ari e-hong rum-dam-
Then H. K. accompanied them: hand one (with) he lifted and
 kok: ansi phi-si ingthan-lo, ansi
brought it away: then having scorched it they cut it up, and
 hem van-lo, cho-tun-lo chodanglo. Ansi arong bohong
home brought, cooked it, served it up. And joyful, noisy,
 chingnek chinugni-si cho-lo, jun-lo.
laughing and making merry, they ate, they drank.

Ansi puthot-adaplo. "H. K. apeso chevanlo"
So next morning dawned. "H. K. his wife has brought"

Pai-a-re "beside the hedge (pai)" = pai-a-kung. Cho-phi; the Mikirs scorch (phi) every bird or animal before preparing it for cooking. Chonghoi, reflexive form of inghoi, "to do," = "to do by themselves." A-ri-e-hong: hong is the generic class-word for a limb (see ante, p. 79). Ingthan, "to cut up fish or flesh, whether raw or cooked." Chingnek reflexive of ingnek, to laugh, "laughing together." Chingni, reflexive of ingni, doublet of ingnek; the verb also means "to sit."

Puthot-adap-lo; puthot, "next": cf. le-shot in adak-vam a-dun-lethot on p. 114 above; the time-affix -lo is joined directly to adap, "morning."

tang pu arju-long-si a-rat-isi adet-isi
so much saying having got to hear the whole country-side
 nang kelang chethor-pre matha-the-the
there to see kept coming and going as you could not imagine
 jadi-the-the. Ansi H. K. apeso apini binong, ajiso
 (doublet). And H. K. his wife's petticoat own striped cloth
 binong, aser alek, pong-ting-ke, lang-pong
own, gold jewels, necklace, gold-drum (in a) bamboo joint
 thap mesen-si kardong raklok. Ansi
putting away carefully, (in the) pitch of the roof tied up. So
 H. K.-ke rong-phu-ri damlo, rup-phu-ri-damlo:
 H. K. the village people each went to visit (doublet):
 arat adet chi-phu-ri dam: aphi
the ryos, the country in turn came to visit him: afterwards
 apeso nang kelang vang-pre. Mane-ke
his wife there to gaze on they kept coming and going. Some
 "ni" mane-ke "neng" mane-ke "te"
"aunt" some "sister-in-law" (brother's wife), some "elder
 mane-ke "pinu" pu-abang-ta-dolo. "Vai!
sister" some "paternal aunt" saying each one was. Oh!
 me-ong-te-ma?" pu pasingnak-jo. Ansi
is she not beautiful, sister?" saying they all admired. Then
 H. K. apeso thak-dun-lo—"An-chot kali langhe! Ne pini
H. K.'s wife answered them—"So much not yet! My petticoat
 binong, ne jiso binong, ne lek binong, ne roi
own, my striped cloth own, my necklace own my bracelet
 binong le ne chepindeng-long-te, aparta so-se-lang."
own again I to put on were to get-if, it would not be thus only."

A-rat, a-det, both Assamese loan-words; rat is *raiya*, "ryots," det, *deh*,
 "country." Chethor-pre, vang-pre, are both used for "continually coming
 and going, of many people"; the former expression indicates greater
 numbers and frequency than the latter. Pong-ting, "a gold drum, worn
 on the breast, strung in the middle of a set of strings on which black,
 coral, and gold beads are arranged in alternate rows six deep" (Stack);
 in Assamese *madoli*. Ni, neng, te, pinu: see the table of terms of relation-
 ship on p. 20. Apar-ta-so-se-lang: this sentence appears to be made up
 thus: apar, "greatly, much," ta, corroborative particle; so, diminutive
 particle, negated by se, lang, auxiliary verb, "continue"; the force of
 it, then, would be—"the effect would not be only the poor result you see,
 fine though that is, but ever so much more!"

Ansi mane asarpi pulo—"Chi, tangte nang pi-tha."
 Then some old woman said "Oh, then do you give them to her."

Ansi H. K. asarpo pulo—"Konat-tong la oso ingcham
 Then H. K.'s old father said—"Where ever (did) that boy mad
 bipikok-lo-ne-le? kopi athe-tang apini jiso
 stow them away? for what reason her petticoat striped cloth
 binong kepi-pe-det?" Ansi H. K. apeso than-lo—
 own did he not give her? Then H. K.'s wife explained—
 "Hala kardong-le kerak-chek-ke." Ansi phri-
 "That pitch of roof-in he has tied them in a bundle. Then having
 dam-si nang-pi-lo. Ansi chepindeng-
 untied there he gave her (the things). Then she put them on
 lo che-sum-pot-lo. Lale keme-puke matha-the-k-the-det
 herself (doublet) Thereupon beautiful so inconceivably

chi-plang-lo. Ansi "Ai! me-ke mesen-te-ma! arnam-aso
 she became. Then "Oh! beautiful, lovely indeed! God's child,
 arni-aso pu pai-pe-lo." Ankephong H. K.
 the sun's child, called not for nothing is she." Thereupon H. K.'s
 apeso thur-phlut-si chehipir-phlum-phlum-lo,
 wife rising up her full height shook out her clothes flap-flap,
 ingjar-et-dan-lo. Anke H. K.
 flew away gracefully (thither whence she came). Then H. K.
 ha-tovar-pen nang-chethek-dun-si, thai-pen
 from a distant path there having watched her, bow (accus.)

jo-dun-rang-rang-lo. Ansi apeso pu-tekan-lo,
 continually kept bending. Then his wife said on leaving him,
 "Tha, tha, mo chiphoji." Ansi H. K.
 "Wait, wait, hereafter we shall meet again." Then H. K.
 chiru chernap mon-duk mon-sa-si hem nang-le-lo.
 weeping lamenting sad and sorry at his house arrived.

Konat-tong=*konat-ching*, "wherever?" *Kopi-athe*=*kopi-apot*.

Pai-pe-lo: this idiom is illustrated by the following phrases: *klem-dam pai-pe-lo*, "he is not working gratis, for nothing"; *la akleng pai-pe-lo*, "he is not the elder for nothing"; i.e. he can do better than his younger brothers. *Ingjar-et-dan lo*: the element *dan* gives the force of returning to her own place whence she came. *Jo*, verb, "to bend a bow," *rang*, particle of continuance. *Tha*, "wait!" Assamese loan-word. *Pho*, verb, "to touch, arrive at," as a boat comes to the shore with *chi*, "to touch one another, to meet" (see p. 112, lines. 1 and 2).

Nang-kele-pen cho-che jun-je a-oso
Immediately on arrival, not eating, not drinking, his child
 nang-chi-bu-det-si ha aphi hem-epi ahem
having taken on his back, to his granny the widow's house
 chedam-phit-lo. Ansi dam dam dam aphi hem-epi
he started to go. So going along his granny the widow's
 ahem lelo: kele-pen lale kachiru late kachernap
house (at) he arrived: on arriving there he wept there he lamented
 matha-the-k-the jadi-the-k the. Ansi aphi pulo—"Hako-
as you could not imagine. Then his granny said—"From
 pen 'Nang-peso nang-cheme-me-lang' nang-pulo-he;
the first 'Your wife is not yet united with you' I told you verily;
 kopusi non-le nang-kelang-ji-lang? Nang sining-le kopusi
how 'now will you get to see her again? You heaven-to how
 kedun-the-kji?" Anke chiru-pet an-muchot
will you be able to follow her? Then weeping so much the more
 cho-che jun-je aphi kedam-aling dun-kri,
not eating not drinking his granny went-whenever following,
 bar-pi bar-so-le kedam-ta hundun-kri,
outgoings-great outgoings-little-in going also he kept dogging her,
 kethi kejang-si kedo-po. Ansi aphi
one-dying, one-perishing (like) he remained. At last his granny
 pulo: "H. K. akhi lo-du-let-le cho-tha:
said: "H. K., food leaf (in) having wrapped up eat (imper.):
 ne mo bidi nang-than-ji." Ansi akhi-lo-
I thereafter a plan to you will explain." Then food-in a-leaf-
 du him sangpher cho-lo. Ansi aphi bidi
wrapped bread parched rice he ate. Then his granny a plan
 than-lo: "Minap-ke nang-peso Mon Recho asopo nang-
explained: "To-morrow your wife Mon Raja's son there
 kachepangri-ji vang-po. Ako nang-hupo
to marry will come. Before that your father-in-law's
 angnar-ta nang-lang-chinglu-ji vangpo. Lale nang
elephant-also there in the river to bathe will come. There do you

*Akhi-lo-du; akhi, "something to eat," lo, "leaf," du, "wrap up" =
 "so much food as can be wrapped up in a leaf," a morsel.*

sangti-arlo chi-patu-dam-joi-non ; ingnar dam-ji
sand-underneath go and hide yourself quietly ; the elephant to go
 dokdok-lo-te, la-arme rip-het-ra nang-
is-making-ready-when, its tail (to) holding on tightly your-
 poho-pen nang-so che-vam-phong-het-non. Lale
turban-with your child to your waist bind firmly. There
 ingnar nang-arju-lo-te, 'Ne-ta ha ne-peso along nang-
the elephant you asks if, 'I also to my-wife's place am going
 kechedun-ji' pu-ra up-non. Anke menap arni-kangsam-si
along with you' saying say. Then to-morrow in the afternoon
 nangtum le-po. Nangke lang-kung-le dokok-non. Anke
you both will arrive. Do you the-river-bank-on want. Then
 nang-peso lang-kepanglu-ji-aphan aban-atum
your wife with-water-to-bathe-for-the-purpose her male slaves
 asot-atum lang nang-sok-po. Anke 'oso-aphan
her female slaves water will-draw-there. Then 'For the child
 lang-ejoi-pet ne pi-tha' pura hang-dun-non. Anke
water one draught only me give saying 'call out. Then
 lang nang-pi-lo-te thibuk-arlo nang-ser-arnan jok-dun-
water you-give-if, the water pot-into your-gold-ring drop
 thot-non. Anke nang-phan nang-hang-po: anke dun-
in. Then for you there she will call: then go with
 non: kele-pen nang-sopo o-dam-kok-non ; anke
them: on arriving your child set down on the ground ; then
 oso ape-along chedampo." Ansi adap
the child its mother-towards will go of itself. So the morning
 ingthang-lo: chodet jundet H. K. ha lang-kung
dawned: having eaten and drunk H. K. to the river bank
 damsí sangti-arlo chipatu-dam-joi-lo.
having gone under the sand went and hid himself quietly.
 Ansi ingnar lang nang-chinglu-ji vanglo. Anke
Then the elephant in the river there to bathe came. Then
 chinglu-det damji dokdoklo. H. K. arme rip-dun-
having bathed to go it made ready. H. K. its tail holding-on-

E-joi, "one draught"; joi is perhaps Ass. jol, "water." O, verb, "to leave, set down."

lok-si, apoho-pen a-so che-vam-phong-det-lo. Ansi
tight-to, his turban-with his child tied firmly to his waist. Ther
 ingnar ha sining ingjar-pon-lo, ansi ha
the elephant to heaven flew up, taking him with him, and there
 lang-kung o-dam-kok-lo. Anke Mon Recho-atum-ta
on the river bank set him down. Then Mon Raja's people also
 H. K. apeso-pen asopo nang-kapangri-ji-si Bari-the
H. K.'s wife-with his son in order to marry great palace
 Recho ahem vanglo Ansi Bari-the Recho aban-
King's house (to) had come. Then great-palace King's male
 atum asot-atum H. K. apeso lang-kapanglu-ji-
slaves female slaves H. K.'s wife with-water-to-bathe-for-the
 aphan lang nang-kesok-ji vanglo. Ansi H. K. asopo-aphan
purpose water there to draw came. Then H. K. his child-for
 lang hang-pi-dun-lo: "Lang ejoi-pet ne-pi-tha
water begged them to give: "Water one draught only give me
 ne-sopo-aphan, pe-marli." Ansi inut-ta pi-pe
my son-for, good mothers." Then one-even would not give
 inut-ta pi-pe. Ansi aphi-si sarpi nang-
one-even would not give. Then at last an old woman came up
 dun-lo: ansi hang-dun-thu-lo H. K.—"Lang ejoi-pet
to them: then called out again H. K.—"Water one draught only
 ne pi-tha, pe-arnam-pi, ne-sopo aphan." Ansi sarpi
me give, good Madam, my-child-for." Then the old woman
 lang pi-lo; thibuk pheroidum pelem-pelam-si, H. K.
water gave him; the water-jar to touch making as though, H. K.
 ser arnam jok-dun-thot-lo. Ansi H. K. apeso lang-panglu-
gold ring dropped into it. So H. K.'s wife they bathed with
 lo: a-ri a-keng cham-et aphi-si sarpi-
water: her arms her legs washing-beautifully after the old
 alang-thibuk aphu nang-dunglo: ser-
woman's water-jar her head (over) they poured there: the gold
 arnan nang-klo-bup. Ansi H. K. apeso pulo—"Ai! nang
ring there fell out. Then H. K.'s wife said—"Oh! here

Mon Recho-atum; notice that here tum has its original sense of "company"; "Mon Raja's company, or following."

chele-dun-tanglo komatching alang-thibuk ma?" pu
has arrived to us whose in the world water-jar ?" saying
 bisar-lo. Ansi inut-ta—"Ne thibuk kali" inut-ta—
she enquired. Then one— "My jar it is not," another—
 "Ne thibuk kali" pulo. Ansi "sarpi a-thibuk"
 "My jar it is not" said. Then "(it is) the old woman's jar"
 pu-hur-lo. Ansi sarpi-aphan pulo—"Konatsi nang
they all said. So to the old woman she said—"Where did you
 bangso arnan kelong-lok? Labangso arleng en-dam-non!
this ring get hold of? That man go and fetch!
 La-le man van thek-the-det, tangte nang
Him if you bring cannot, Then (it is a matter of) your
 pran!" pulo. Ansi sarpi chiru chernap-si
life!" she said. Then the old woman weeping lamenting
 H. K. along dam-lo, ansi hang-dam-lo—"Ne-dun
towards H. K. went, and called out to him—"With me be
 ik-non: kopi-apotsi 'Lang ne pi-tha si pu-
pleased to come: for what reason 'Water me give' this having
 te ne-pran ne-mui ne-kapedam-ji-le matha-thurong-
said my life (doublet) me to cause to lose did you have it in your
 ma?" Ansi H. K. aso chibu-si dun-
mind?" So H. K. his child carrying on his back went with
 lo. Kelepen oso o-dam-kok-lo. Ansi
her. On arriving the boy he set down on the ground. Then
 oso kat-tang-tang-si ape cherbak dam-krap-lo,
the boy running straightway his mother's lap (into) climbed up,
 ansi mok chu-lo.
and her breast sucked.

Ansi Bari-the Recho pulo: "Ai abidi thek-
 Then the great palace King said: "Oh! a thing never

Pu-hur-lo: hur is one of the particles indicating plurality.
Ne dun-ik non: ik, "elder brother," used as a respectful form of
 address; observe its place in the compound imperative. *Mathathurong*,
 lit. "you had another (*thu*) meaning" (viz. to make me lose my life).
 Notice how *-si*, the mark of the conjunctive participle, is affixed to the
 reported utterance of H.K. *Cherbak* = *che-arbak*; *arbak*, the lap or
 bosom; also a verb; *oso karbak*, "she holds the child to her bosom."
Krap is said to be used only of a child climbing up into its mother's lap.

the-lo! a-so-si chi-pethe-rap-tang-det-lo-le-ma!"
*seen before! a child-even have they got great between them
 already?"*

Ansi Mon-Recho-atum therak-lo ingringlo:
Then Fon-Raja's people were ashamed, were disgusted:
 mon-duk mon-sa hem chevoi-lo. Ansi H: K. pen
grieved and sorry home they returned. Then (of) H. K. and
 Bari-the-Recho asopi pangri-lo pangdon-lo.
great palace King's daughter they celebrated the wedding

Ansi ningkan-isi ningkan-hini do-dun-si tiki-
So year-one year-two living with them he laboured
 lo inghoi-lo, ansi puru-krehini phandar-krehini
in the fields and worked, and granaries-twelve barns-twelve
 long-lo. Ansi H. K. apeso aphan chipulo: "Ai
got. Then H. K. his wife-to said privately: "O
 nang pi! ili-ta vo-phri ason vo-thung ason e-tar
my dear! we two also sparrows-like doves-like a nest
 an-ke do, e-thon an-ke do; apotke chedam-
at least have, a roosting-place at least have; therefore let us go
 po-nang: onghai pen anihai arju-non."
away together: father-in-law and mother-in-law ask."

Ansi aningve H. K. apeso ape apo
So that night H. K.'s wife her mother her father
 Cherjulo: "Ai pe pen po! nangli osa
asked privately: "O mother and father! your son-in-law
 kepu-ke: 'ili-ta vo-phri ason vo-thung-ason e-tar
says: 'we two also sparrows-like doves-like a nest
 anke do. e-thon anke do; onghai pen
at least have, a roosting-place at least have: father-in-law and
 anihai arju-non: chedam po-nang'— pusi pu:
mother-in-law ask: let us go away together'—so he says:
 Nangtum kopi abida-si ne phar-dun-po-ma?" Ansi Bari-
 Ye what order me will command?" Then palace-

Ingring, used as homonym of therak, "to be ashamed," also means to be afraid, disturbed in mind."

Cherju-lo = che-arju-lo. Phar, "to order"; nang ne kephar aling-lo, "as you order me"; ne phar-dun peme-sen-lo, "I gave him careful instructions." Bida = Ass. bidai, "leave to depart."

the-Recho pulo— "Che pe! lo-thui ason
 great-King said—"O daughter! a bundle of greens like,
 hanthui ason eboi-si nang chochok-palar
 a bundle of vegetables like once for all you given away, or
 chotheng-palar tang-det-lo-le-ma. Minap-le
 in exchange (doublet) completely I have. On the morrow
 dam-tha chidun, mini-le dam-tha chidun." Ansi apo
 go away together, to-day go away together." Then her father.
 pu-thu-lo: "Kopisi nangtum kari-ma? ban-ma?
 said again: "What do you desire of me? male slaves?
 sot-ma? armo-ma? okso-ma? ser-ma? rup-ma?"
 female slaves? ryots? husbandmen? gold? silver"
 Ansi H. K. che-than-dam lo: "Ai nangpo! ne-pe pen
 So H. K: che went and told: "O my dear! my mother and
 ne-po kepu-ke— 'mini-le dam-tha minap-le dam-tha
 my father say— 'this very day go away to-morrow go away
 chi-dun-ta-me; aphuthak, ban-ma? sot-ma? armo-ma?
 together if you like; moreover, slaves? handmaids? ryots?
 okso-ma? ser-ma? rup-ma? Kopisi nangtum kari-ma?
 cultivators? gold? silver? What do you desire?"
 pusi pu." Ansi H. K. pulo: "Thangta nangne." Ansi
 they say." Then H. K. said: "Anything I need not." So
 adaplo. Ansi H. K. anipi pen
 it became morning. Then H. K. his mother-in-law and
 ahupo ardom-lo ardi-lo Ansi
 his father-in-law saluted respectfully (doublet). And
 ahupo pulo: "Kopisi nangli kari-ma? ban-ma,
 his father-in-law said: "What do you desire? slaves,
 sot-ma, armo-ma, okso-ma, ser-ma, rup-ma?" Ansi
 handmaids, ryots, cultivators, gold, silver?" Then

Che pe; notice that *pe*, "mother," is used as affectionate term of address to a daughter, exactly as *po*, "father," is used above to a son or grandson. *Lo-thui-han-thui*, "a bundle of vegetables, with a leaf wrapped jocularly used for getting rid of a person. *Palar* causal of *lar*, "to be changed or exchanged," also apparently used jocularly of giving in marriage.

H. K. pulo "Thangta nangne." Ansi H. K. atum
 H. K. said "I need nothing." So H.K. and his wife
 pengnanso tange asopo hem chedam-lo ansi hem
 the wedded pair and also their son started for home and arrived
 chile-lo. Recho cholo kethe cholo, jo-arni
 there. A king he became, a great one he became, night and
 me, jo-arni the, ansi arecho
 day he was happy, night and day he was great and his kingdom
 akethe thirlo
 was great and stable.

H.K.-atum: notice the plural affix used to indicate H.K. and his wife.
Cho-lo, "he became"; this seems to be a different verb from *cho*, "to
 eat." Notice *a-recho* "his kingship"; *recho* stands for *raj* as well as *raja*.
Thir, Ass. *thir*, "steady."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Divisions of time. On p. 95, note, the divisions of the day are given.
 To these may be added those of the year, as recorded by Mr. Stack.
 A year is *ning-kan* (cf. *Lushei kum*, *Sho kun*, "year," and *Lushei ni-kum*,
Thado ningkum, *Sho yan-kun*, "last year"). A month is *Chiklo*, "moon";
 but the Assamese months, which are solar divisions of the year, not
 lunations, appear to be followed. The days of the month are not
 generally counted, and there is said to be no week. (This is borne out by
 S. P. Kay's English-Mikir vocabulary, which gives *hopta*, the Hindustani
hafta, as the word for "week," with *ni-throksi*, "seven days," as an
 alternative. In the *Mikir Primer* published by the American Baptist
 missionaries in 1903, however, *rui* is said (p. 21) to be the word for
 "week.")

Kechung-apor (*chung*, to be cold) is the cold season. *Ning-kreng*
 (*kreng*, to be dry) is the dry portion of winter. *Chung-phang-ok* (*chung*,
 cold; *phang-ok*, hot), is the spring, merging into summer. *Barla* is the
 rainy season, followed by *Chung-jir-jir* ("becoming cold by degrees")
 autumn. The following are the names of the months, with the
 corresponding Assamese names, as set down by Mr. Stack:—

Literary form.

Chaitra
 Vaisakha
 Jyeshtha
 Ashadha
 Sravana
 Bhadra
 Aswini
 Kartika
 Margasirsa
 Paushya
 Magha
 Phalguni

As pronounced in Assam.

Soit
 Boihag
 Jeth
 Ahar
 Sraon
 Bhadur
 Ahin
 Karti
 Marg
 Poh
 Magh
 Phagun

Mikir names.

Thangthang
 There
 Jangmi
 Aru
 Vosik
 Jakhong
 Paipai
 Chiti
 Phre
 Phaikuni
 Matijong
 Arkoi

According to the *Mikir Primer*, however, the Mikir names (which agree with those given by Mr. Stack) correspond with periods earlier by at least a month, Thangthang being the equivalent of February, instead of Chaitra (which begins at the vernal equinox), and the other months in ordinary sequence (There, March, Jangmi, April, etc.). Thangthang is said by Mr. Stack to be called *Changlachong-rong-do*, "the stay-at-home month." There is the month in which the jungle is cut and strewn to dry (this would agree well with the equivalent of the *Primer*, rather than with Boihag, April-May, when the firing would take place). Vosik ("sprout") should indicate the month of vigorous growth, when the rains have set in. Phaikuni seems to be borrowed from the Sanskrit *Phalguni*, but does not correspond with it. The other names are not explained.

Musical instruments. A flute, *pongsi*, cut from a bamboo, is mentioned on p. 128 : *pongsi* is the Assamese *bansi*, the well-known instrument of the youthful Krishna (*Bansi-dhar*). Other instruments known to the Mikirs are *muri*, a fife; *cheng*, a drum; *cheng-brup*, the small handdrum used by the *risomar* to accompany their dancing at funeral feasts; and *kum*, a one-stringed fiddle. The last is made by stretching a string made from a creeper, *mangri*, across a gourd, *bong*, which provides an air-chamber. It is played with a bow, *kum-aliso* (*li*, a bow, *so*, diminutive particle) made of bamboo, the string of which is a tough fibre of bamboo. (Compare the one-stringed fiddle, *pena*, of the Meitheis : Meithei Monograph, p. 56).

VII.

AFFINITIES.

The place of the Mikirs in the Tibeto-Burman family.

SOME idea of the mental equipment of the Arlengs will have been gathered from the two preceding sections. It has been seen that, within the limited circle of their experience, they possess a medium of expression which may be described as adequate to their needs, well knit together in its mechanism, and copious in concrete terms, though, like all such languages, wanting in the abstract and general. Their folk-tales are lively and effective as narratives, and the themes, though probably borrowed from the great treasury of popular story elaborated in Peninsular India, have been appropriated and assimilated to the social conditions of the Mikirs themselves. Little has hitherto been done to enlarge the resources of the language in the direction of higher culture, or to use it for the expression of ideas lying beyond the scope of the tribal life; but there appears to be no reason to doubt that the language of the Mikirs will be found in the course of time to be as capable of development for this purpose as the speech of their neighbours the Khasis.*

The leading feature of the race, in contrast with other hill tribes of Assam, is its essentially unwarlike and pacific character. Its neighbours—Khasis, Kacharis, Kukis, Nagas—have for centuries been engaged in continuous internecine strife, and their tribal individualities have been preserved, and differences accentuated, by the state of hostility in which each unit, however small, lived with all adjacent peoples. The Mikirs

* Reference may here be made to a summary of the Gospel history in Mikir entitled *Birta Keme*, Glad tidings," published by the American Baptist Mission Press, Tika, Nowgong, in 1904.

have always, at least during the last two centuries, been, as Major Stewart described them in 1855, "good subjects." Numbering some ninety thousand souls, they are extremely homogeneous, while other tribes in their neighbourhood differ in an extraordinary manner from village to village, and constantly tend to split up into smaller aggregates, looking on all outsiders as enemies. No such disintegrating influence has affected the Arlengs. Whether in North Cachar, the Jaintia Hills, Nowgong, or the Mikir Hills, their tribal institutions, their language, and their national character are identical, and they pursue their peaceful husbandry in the same manner as their forefathers, raising in ordinary years sufficient food for their subsistence, and a considerable amount of cotton and lac for export to the plains. In these circumstances, surrounded by warring tribes, and still nomadic in their habits of cultivation, they have from time to time found it necessary to place themselves under the protection of stronger peoples. It has been mentioned in Section I. that the traditions of the race show that they were formerly subject to the Khasi chiefs of Jaintia and the eastern states of the Khasi Hills, and that they migrated thence to the territory subject to the Ahom kings.* During their sojourn in Khasi-land they assimilated much; dress (p. 5), ornaments (p. 6), personal names (p. 17), methods of divination (pp. 34, 35), funeral ceremonies (pp. 38-42), memorial stones (p. 42), all come from the Khasis, who have also contributed many words to their common speech. Borrowings from Hinduism are equally manifest in their language, their folk-tales, and their religion. Assamese words are numerous in Mikir; *Arnam Kethe* (p. 30) seems to be a translation of *Mahadeva*; *Jom-arong* (p. 28), and the ideas linked therewith of an after-life, are strongly impressed with a Hindu stamp.

Yet they retain, together with these borrowed features, a sufficiently definite stock of original characteristics. Physically they differ much from Khasi and Assamese alike. Their social fabric is based upon clearly marked exogamous groups, with patriarchal principles of marriage and inheritance; they call these by a Khasi name (*kur*), but have no trace of the matriarchal

* This seems to have taken place in or about 1765 A.D. See Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 181.

family as known among the Khasis. They build their houses on posts, while their neighbours, except the Kukis, build on the ground. Their deities are of the primitive kind which is common to all Indo-Chinese races, well known, under the name of *Nats*, as the object of popular worship and propitiation in Burma.

Ever since the race has been studied, it has been noticed that it was difficult to establish its exact place and affinities in the heterogeneous congeries of peoples who inhabit the mountainous region between India and Burma. This was remarked by Robinson in 1841 and 1849, by Stewart in 1855, by Damant in 1879. At the Census of 1881 an attempt was made to bring the Mikirs into relation with the Boro or Kachari stock; but it was seen at the time that more must be ascertained regarding their neighbours before any final judgment could be arrived at. Dr. Grierson, on linguistic grounds, has classed them in the *Linguistic Survey* as intermediate between the Boro and the Western Nagas. It appears to the present writer, in the light of the much fuller information now available, that they should be classed rather with those tribes which form the connecting link between the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins, and that the preponderance of their affinities lies with the latter of these two races, especially those dwelling in the south of the Arakan Roma range, where the Chin tends to merge into the Burman of the Irawadi Valley.

When Robinson and Stewart wrote, it was still remembered that the Mikirs had once been settled in strength in the country (now called North Cachar) to the immediate north of the Barail Range, and in contact with the Angami, the Kachcha, and the Kabui Nagas; and that, exposed as they were in this locality to the inroads of the Angamis and the oppression of the Kachari kings, they had migrated westwards to the territory of the Jaintia Raja in search of protection. It was noticed in the Barail, where there are now no Mikirs, local names belonging to their language indicated their former presence. When they lived there, they must have been in touch with tribes belonging to the Kuki-Chin stock, who have for centuries occupied the hill ranges to the south of the valley of Cachar, and the mountains between that valley and Manipur.

The institutions of co-operative agriculture by the village lads (p. 11), the bachelors' house or *terang* (id.), the former custom of ante-nuptial promiscuity (p. 19), and the traces of

village *tabu* resembling the Naga *genna*, still characterizing the annual festival of the *Rongker* (p. 43), all point to a connection with the Western Naga tribes, rather than to affinity with the Kachari stock. From the Kuki and Chin tribes the Mikirs are distinguished chiefly by their pacific habits, and by the absence of the dependence upon hereditary tribal chiefs which is so strong a feature among the former. The customs of both races as regards the building of houses upon posts, with a *hong* or open platform in front, are identical; in Major G. E. Fryer's paper "On the Khyeng people of the Sandoway District, Arakan," published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1875 (pp. 39, 99), a Khyeng house is figured which bears a striking resemblance to the Mikir house. The institutions of domestic and individual life among the Khyengs (Chins), as described by Major Fryer, especially as regards marriage, funeral ceremonies, the disposal of the dead (after copious feasting of friends and relatives) by cremation, the rules of inheritance (females being wholly excluded from succession), the treatment of disease, the propitiation of spirits, and the annual festivals in honour of the gods who preside over man's welfare, present the closest analogy to those of the Mikirs as set forth in this monograph. Like the Mikirs, the Chins are divided into exogamous groups and follow the rule of male kinship: but, like the Mikirs also in this, the approved marriage is that between a man and his first cousin on the mother's side. It has been noticed already (p. 21) that the word for *father-in-law* (*ong-hai*, wife's father) in Mikir is identical with that for maternal uncle, *ong*, and that *son-in-law*, *osa*, also means *nephew* (sister's son). The story of "the Orphan and his Maternal Uncles" illustrates the obligation which lies on a lad to marry his mother's brother's daughter (see above, p. 53). Similarly, Harata Kunwar, though but a mortal, calls his father-in-law the *Bari-the Recho onghai* (p. 147), and is spoken of by him as *osa* (id.), while the fairy princesses call him *cousin*, *korpo* (p. 127). The same phenomenon appears in the Kuki-Chin languages. In Sho or Chin (Khyeng) *apu* means both maternal uncle and father-in-law; so also in Lushei, *pu* has both meanings. The following list of words indicating relationship in Mikir and Lushei (representing the Central Kuki-Chins) shows how closely the two languages correspond in this important part of their vocabulary:—

	<i>Mikir.</i>	<i>Lushei.</i>
grandfather	<i>phu</i>	<i>pu</i>
grandmother	<i>phi</i>	<i>pi</i>
gandson	<i>su-po</i>	<i>tu-pa</i>
granddaughter	<i>su-pi</i>	<i>tu-nu</i>
father	<i>po</i>	<i>pa</i>
mother	<i>pei</i>	<i>nu</i>
aunt:		
father's sister	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
mother's sister	<i>pi-nu</i>	<i>nu</i>
father's brother's wife	<i>ni</i>	<i>nu</i>

Among all these tribes the most important index to racial connexion is to be found in their languages. No one would now assert that language, any more than religion, is everywhere a conclusive mark of racial unity; immense masses of the people of India to-day speak languages imposed upon them from without, and Aryan speech has extended itself over many millions in whose blood nothing is due to the original invaders from the north-west. Again, the practices of a predatory state of society bring into the tribe slaves and wives from outside; or, as among the Mikirs (p. 33), aliens may be accepted on equal terms as members, thus modifying the unity of blood. On the other hand, it would be equally unreasonable and opposed to the facts to deny that, among such communities as the Tibeto-Burman peoples of Assam, race and language do, constantly and in a general manner, coincide. People who speak a tongue which is unintelligible to their neighbours are necessarily thrown together into a unity of their own. Their ancestral ideas and institutions, secular and religious, their tribal history, must tend to keep them united, and perpetuate the influence of a common origin by the fact that all outside the community are actual or potential enemies. Language, therefore, when it coincides with tribal separateness, is our chief guide in determining the relationship of the hill tribes of Assam one to another.

Here another qualification is, however, necessary. The word-stock of the Tibeto-Burman races is to a large extent identical. The same methods of arranging the elements of the

sentence, in other words the same general principles of grammar, prevail throughout the whole family of speech. We must, therefore, in investigating the nearer kingship of one group to another, not be misled by linguistic resemblances which are common to the whole stock to which both groups belong.

In comparing Tibeto-Burman languages it has been usual to choose for examination in the first place the numerals and in the second the pronouns. The vocabulary of nouns, adjectives, and verbs is liable to disturbing influences which do not equally affect the simple ideas represented by number and person. Let us begin, therefore, with the numerals. These, so far as they are necessary for our purpose, are as follows in Mikir:—

one, <i>isi</i>	twelve, <i>kre-hini</i>
two, <i>hini</i>	thirteen, <i>kre-kethom</i>
three, <i>kethom</i>	etc.
four, <i>phili</i>	a score, <i>ing-koi</i>
five, <i>phongo</i>	twenty-one, <i>ing-koi-ra-isi</i>
six, <i>therok</i>	etc.
seven, <i>therok-si</i>	thirty, <i>thom-kep</i>
eight, <i>ner-kep</i>	forty, <i>phili-kep</i>
nine, <i>sir-kep</i>	etc.
ten, <i>kep</i>	a hundred, <i>pharo</i>
eleven, <i>kre-isi</i>	

Here the first thing to be noticed is that the three numerals between six and ten are not independent vocables, but compounds; seven is six *plus* one: eight is ten *minus* two, and nine is ten *minus* one. In most of the other languages of the family this is not so; the Boro, the Naga, and the majority of the Kuki-Chin languages all have independent words for seven, eight, and nine. It appears to be only in the Kuki-Chin group that we can find an analogy to the Mikir words for these three numerals. In Anal, a language of the Old Kuki family spoken in Manipur, seven is *tak-si*, which seems to be identical with the Mikir *therok-si*; and in Meithei (the language of the Manipuris) eight is *ni-pan*, "two from ten," and nine is *ma-pan*, "one from ten."

We next notice that *ten* is expressed by two separate words, *kep* (in ten and its multiples) and *kre* (in the compounds from eleven to nineteen). So far as vocabularies have yet been

published, the only other tribes of the Tibeto-Burman family* which have a word resembling *kep* for ten are Maring Naga, one of the Naga-Kuki languages, where it is *chip*, and Sho or southern Chin, where *gip* is used for ten in the sequence thirty, forty, fifty, etc. (*thum-gip*, thirty, *mli-gip*, forty, *nagha-gip*, fifty, exactly corresponding to the Mikir *thom-kep*, *phili-kep*, *phongo-kep*). The close resemblance of the other numerals in Maring to Mikir forms is noticeable; four is *fili*, five *funga*, and six *tharuk*. The other word for ten, *kre*, strongly resembles the Angami *kerr* or *kerru* and the Kachcha Naga *gareo*; in the Central Naga group the prefix *ke-* has been replaced by *ta-* or *te-*, and the words for ten are *ter*, *tara* (Ao), *taro*, *tara*, *tare* (Lhota), etc. In the Naga-Kuki group Sopvoma has *chiro*, Maram *kero*, *Tangkhu* *thara*, etc. In the Kuki-Chin group Meithei *tara* is the same word: in the Central Chin another prefix, *pu-*, *po-*, or *pa-*, is used, and we have Lai *pora*, Banjogi *para*, Taungtha *parha*. There are no Boro forms which correspond to *kre*, nor any much resembling *kep*.

The Mikir word for twenty, *ingkoi*, is made up of the prefix *ing*, and *koi*, formerly (before the loss of the final *l*) *kol*. Kachcha Naga has the same word, *engkai*, Kabui *choi*, *koi*, or *kol*. The word also appears in Garp (*kol*), Tipura (*khof*), and Deori-Chutiya (*kwa*), of the Boro group; Angami *me-kwu*, *mekhi*, *mekko*, Lhota *me-kwi*, *mekwu*, in the West and Central Naga groups; Maram and Sopvoma (*make*, *makei*), *Tangkhu* (*maga*), Phadeng (*ma-kui*), in the Naga-Kuki group, and *Singpho khun*. In the Kuki-Chin languages it is very common (*Meithei kul*, Siyin *kul*, Lai *po-kul*, Shonshe *ma-kul*, Banjogi *kul*, Sho [Chin] *kul*, *goi*). There does not appear to be any trace of this word for a score in the Tibetan and Himalayan languages, where twenty is invariably rendered by "two-tens."† The Northern Indian word *kori*, which has the same meaning, has been compared with it; it is difficult, however, to imagine borrowing on one part or the other.

In the series of tens, 30 to 99, Mikir prefixes the multiplier: *thom-kep*, *phili-kep*, *phongo-kep*, etc. The Boro group prefixes

* Words resembling *kep* are found for ten in some of the pronominalized languages of the lower Himalayas of Nepal; but these do not enter into our present field of comparison.

† Lepcha *kha*, Khaling *khal*, are probably the same word.

the tens (Garo *so-bri*, 40, *sol-bongga*, 50, *sot-dok*, 60, etc.).* The Naga group has both systems; Angami prefixes the tens: *thi†-da*, 40, *lhi-pangu*, 50, *lhi suru*, 60; Lhota and Ao suffix them: Lhota *tham-dro*, 30, *zu-ro*, 40, *rok-ro*, 60; Ao *semur* 30, *lir* 40, *rok-ur* 60. In the Kuki-Chin group the majority of dialects prefix the tens (Thado and Lushei *som-thum* 30, *som-li* 40, etc.), and this is also the rule for Kachcha Naga, Kabui, and Khoirao, as well as for all the languages classed by Dr. Grierson as Naga-Kuki. But the Sho or southern Chins not only have the same collocation as the Mikirs (*thum-gip*, *mli-gip*, *ngha-gip*)—an arrangement which also obtains in Burmese,—but use the same words. This coincidence is very striking.

The word for a hundred, *pharo*, bears no resemblance to any word expressing this numeral in the Boro languages. It agrees with the Angami *kra*, Kezhama *kri*, Sopvoma *kre*, and in a remarkable way the words used by the Southern Chins (Taungtha *ta-ya* = *tara*, Chinbok *phyä* = Yawdwin *pra*, Sho (Chin) *krat*). It will be seen that *pha-* in Mikir, *k-* in the Naga languages, and *ta-*, *ph-*, *p-* and *k-* in the Chin dialects, are numeral prefixes, and that the essential element of the numeral is *ra* (Mikir *ro*) or *rat*. It appears in this form, without any prefix, in several other Kuki-Chin languages.

Here should be mentioned a custom which obtains in Mikir of counting by fours; a group of four is *cheke* or *chike*, which corresponds to the Boro *zakhai* (*jakhai*). This system is used for counting such things as eggs, betel-nuts, fowls, etc., of the same class; eg. *vo-ti chike phongo-ra e-pum*, 21 eggs ($4 \times 5 + 1$): *chike phongo-ra pum-thom*, 23 eggs ($4 \times 5 + 3$). Possibly one language has borrowed from the other. (This method of counting by fours is common throughout the Aryan languages of Northern India, where a group of four is called *ganda*.)

Our conclusion from these comparisons is that while Mikir has few coincidences, beyond those common to the whole Tibeto-Burman family, with the Boro group, it has many with

* Other Boro languages borrow Aryan words for higher numbers than ten.

† *Lhi* is the relic of *kre*, with the prefix *k* dropped and the *r* changed to *l*.

the Naga and Kuki-Chin groups, and especially with the Sho or southernmost Chins.

Before leaving the numerals, something must be said of the prefixes which they exhibit throughout the Tibeto-Burman family. Taking first that member for which we have the oldest materials, Tibetan, the first ten numerals are as follows :—

	<i>As written.</i>	<i>As now spoken in Central Tibet.</i>
one	gchig	chik
two	gnyis	nyi
three	gsum	sum
four	bzhi	shi
five	lnga	nga
six	drug	dhuk
seven	bdun	dun
eight	brgyad	gya
nine	dgu	gu
ten	bchu	chu

Here we observe several different prefixes, once no doubt supplied with vowels, but from the dawn of written record united in Tibetan with the following consonant, and now no longer heard in utterance; in the first three units the prefix is *g-* : in four, seven, eight, and ten it is *b-* : in six and nine it is *d-* : and in five it is *l-*.

In the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam and Burma we find the same phenomenon of numeral prefixes; but while some languages have the same prefix throughout the ten units, others, like Tibetan, have several different prefixes. In some cases, again, the prefixes have been incorporated in the numeral and are no longer recognized as separable, while in others they may be dropped when the numeral occurs in composition; in others, again, the prefixes have (as in spoken Tibetan) been dropped altogether.

Of the first class the best examples are the Central Kuki-Chin languages :—

	<i>Lai.</i>	<i>Shonshe.</i>	<i>Lushei.</i>
one	po-kat	ma-kat	pa-khat
two	po-ni	ma-nhi	pa-nhih
three	po-thum	ma-ton	pa-thum
four	po-li	ma-li	pa-li
five	po-nga	ma-nga	pa-nga
six	po-ruk	ma-ruk	pa-ruk
seven	po-sari	ma-seri	pa-sarih
eight	po-ryeth	ma-rit	pa-riat
nine	po-kwa	ma-ko	pa-kua
ten	po-ra	ma-ra	shom

Of the second class Mikir, in common with most of the Assam family, is an example; in *one* and *two* the prefix *ke-* (representing the Tibetan *g-*) has been abraded to *i-* and *hi-*: in *three* it persists; in these numbers the prefix may be dropped in composition, leaving *si*, *ni*, and *thom* remaining. In *four* and *five* we have the prefix *phi-* (for *pi-*) and *pho-* (for *po-* or *pa-*), representing the *b-* of Tibetan, but now no longer separable. In *six* the prefix *the-* represents the original *d-*, and has similarly become inseparable. In *ten*, the form *kre* represents an original *kera*, answering to the *Kuki-Chin po-ra* and *ma-ra* and the Meithei *ta-ra*. We notice that in Mikir, as in the Naga and Kuki-Chin languages, the hard consonants *k*, *p*, *t* (*ph*, *th*) have replaced the soft *g*, *b*, and *d* of the Tibetan. In the Boro languages, on the other hand, the original soft consonants of Tibetan are retained, as will be seen from the forms below:—

	Boro.	Dimasa.	Garo.
one	se, sui	shi	sa
two	ni, nui	gini	gni
three	tham	gatam	gitam
four	bre, brui	bri	bri
five	ba	bonga	bongga
six	ro, do	do	dok

In these changes Mikir follows the phonetic laws obtaining in Naga and Kuki-Chin, not those which obtain in Boro.

It has been pointed out already (p. 78) that generic determinatives are used in Mikir when numbers are joined to nouns. This practice is common to the Boro languages and to the Kuki-Chin group (as well as Burmese), but does not appear to be prevalent in the Western Naga group. A list of the words used in Darrang Kachari is given at p. 13 of Mr. Endle's grammar; for Garo, a list will be found at p. 6 of Mr. Phillips's grammar; it much resembles the Darrang list, but neither contains any forms coinciding with those of Mikir except the Garo *pat*, used for leaves and other flat things, which resembles the Mikir *pak*. On the other hand, in *Kuki-Chin* we have in Lai *pum* for globular things,* the same as in Mikir, and in Sho (Chin) we have for persons *pun*, the Mikir *bang* (*bang* in Mikir and *pang* in Lushei mean *body*), and for animals *zum*, the Mikir *jon* (Mr. Houghton's grammar, p. 20). Here again the affinity of the Arleng is with

* *Linguistic Survey*, vol. III. part iii., p. 118.

Turning now to the pronouns, the Mikir *ne* for the first person singular finds its exact equivalent only in the two Old Kuki dialects Anal and Hiroi, spoken in Manipur, where the corresponding pronoun is *ni* (Anal) and *nai* (Hiroi). In Boro the form is *any*, in Angami *a*, in Sema *ngi*, in Ao *ni*, Lhota *a*, in Kachcha Naga *anui*. In the majority of the Kuki-Chin family another stem, *kei* or *ke*, is used. Here Mikir agrees with the two Kuki dialects mentioned and with some of the Naga forms, rather than with Boro.

For the second person singular all the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam have *nang*, or closely similar forms.

For the third person Mikir now uses the demonstrative *la*, but, as the possessive prefix shows, had formerly *a*. In this it agrees with Lai, Lushei, Chiru, Kolren among the Kuki family, and Tangkhul and Maring among the Naga-Kuki group. What the original Boro pronoun of the third person was is not now ascertainable; the demonstrative *bi* (Darrang), *be* (Lalung), *bo* (Dimasa) or *ua* (Garo) is now used instead. This seems to correspond with the Mikir *pe-*, *pi-*, *pa-* in the words mentioned on p. 80. In Angami the pronoun is similarly *po*, in Sema *pa*, and in Ao *pa*. In Meithei and many other Kuki-Chin languages another demonstrative, *ma*, is used; this may be connected with the Mikir *mi*, *me*, in *mini*, to-day, *menap*, to-morrow (see p. 80). But, although *ma* is used as a separate pronoun for the third person in the majority of the Kuki-Chin group, the prefixed *a-* of relation, usual in Mikir, which (as explained on p. 76) is really the possessive pronoun of the third person, is widely employed throughout the family, as a prefix both to nouns and adjectives, in exactly the same way as in Mikir. This coincidence, again, is striking; the Boro languages seem to present nothing similar.

The plural pronouns in Mikir are formed by adding *-tum* to the singular. Exactly the same thing takes place in Tangkhul, a Naga-Kuki language: *i*, I, *i-thum*, we; *na*, thou, *na-thum*, ye; *a*, he, *a-thum*, they. The plural of nouns however, in Tangkhul is formed by other affixes, generally words meaning "many" (cf. the Mikir *ong*).

Mikir has two forms for the pronoun of the first person

plural, according as the speaker includes the person addressed or excludes him, *i-tum* or *e-tum* in the former and *ne-tum* in the latter case. The first, it will be seen, agrees with the general word for *we* in Tangkhul. In Angami also two forms are used, *he-ko* for *we* exclusive, and *a-vo* for *we* inclusive; the former seems to agree in form, though not in sense, with the Mikir *e-tum*. The affinity of Mikir with the Western Naga and Naga-Kuki languages seems to be exemplified here also. The Boro languages have not the double form for this person.

The reflexive pronoun or particle in Mikir, *che* (see p. 80), is represented in Thado Kuki by *ki*, which is perhaps the same word. Angami has *the*, Meithei *na*. Boro does not appear to possess any corresponding particle.

The interrogative particle *-ma* in Mikir (p. 80) is *mo* in most of the Kuki-Chin languages (in some *-em*, *-am*), while in Angami it is *ma*, and in Kachcha Naga *me*. The same particle (*ma*) is used in Garo and Boro for questions.

Two particles are used in Mikir as suffixes to magnify or diminish the root-word; the augmentative is *-pi* (as *theng*, wood, firewood, *thengpi*, a tree; *lang*, water, *langpi*, the great water, the sea), the diminutive is *-so* (as *hem*, a house, *hemso*, a hut; *lang-so*, a brook). Boro has *-ma* for the augmentative, *-sa* for the diminutive (*dui-ma*, great river, *dui-sa*, brook); but Meithei and Thado have the same particles as Mikir, *-pi* and *-cha* (*ch* is equivalent to *s*).

The Mikir suffix *-po*, feminine *-pi*, corresponding to the Hindi *-wala* (see several examples on p. 12 *ante*), seems to be identical with the Meithei *-ba* (*-pa*) and *-bi* (*-pi*), though it has nothing like the extensive use in Mikir which *-ba* (*-pa*) has in Meithei.

The noteworthy separable prefix *ar-* in Mikir, which is probably connected with the Tibetan prefix *r-* (see *ante*, p. 129, note), appears to occur in the Kuki-Chin languages, but does not seem to have any representative in the Boro family. The examples in the Kuki-Chin volume of the *Linguistic Survey* are found in Rangkhul (p. 6, *er-ming*, "name"), Aimol (p. 215, *ra-mai*, "tail," Mikir *arme*), Kom (p. 245, *ra-mhing*, "name"; *ra-nai*,

"earth, ground" [*nai* perhaps = Mikir *le* in *long-le*]), Kyaw or Chaw (p. 254), and Hiroi (p. 282). All these forms of speech belong to the Old Kuki group, which has already yielded several other analogies with Mikir.

The prefix *ke-* (*ka-*), which plays so important a part in Mikir (see pp. 77, 83, 84) in the formation of adjectives, participles, and verbal nouns, and answers to the Boro *ga-* and the Angami *ke-*, has for most part disappeared from the Kuki dialects, perhaps because it conflicts with the prefixed pronominal stem of the first person, *ka-*. It survives, however, in the three Old Kuki languages, Kom, Anal, and Hiroi. In Tangkhul, of the Naga-Kuki group, it is used exactly as in Mikir, to form adjectives and verbal nouns, *eg.*:—

	Mikir.	Tangkhul.
to come	ke-vang	ka-va (to go)
to eat	ke-cho	ka-shai
to remain	ke-bom	ka-pam (to sit)
to beat	ke-chok	ka-sho
to die	ke-thi	ka-thi

The particles used in Mikir as suffixes to indicate tenses of the verb, with the exception of that for the completed past, *tang*, which appears to be identical with the Thado and Lushei *ta*, do not seem to have any close analogues in the Kuki-Chin or Naga-Kuki groups; they are also quite different from those used in the Boro group. Causative verbs, however, are in many Kuki-Chin languages constructed with the verb *pe* or *pek*, "to give," as in Mikir; and the suffix of the conjunctive participle in Mikir, *-si*, is perhaps the same as *-chu* in Khoirao. In Boro the prefix *fi-*, answering to the Mikir *pi-*, was formerly used to form causatives, as appears from verbal roots in current use; the construction now most common uses *-nu*, which has the same meaning ("to give") as a *suffix*.

The negative verb in Mikir is formed by suffixing the particle *-e* to the positive root, when the latter begins with a vowel. Similarly, in Boro a negative verb is formed by adding the particle *-a*. In the Kuki-Chin languages different suffixes are employed (*lo*, *lai*, *mak*, *ri*), and in a few dialects prefixes. Here Mikir resembles Boro rather than the Kuki group. But the remarkable feature of Mikir in reduplicating initial consonants

before the suffixed negative (see *ante*, p. 85) has no analogy in either family, unless the isolated example in Kolren (an Old Kuki dialect) quoted in the *Linguistic Survey*, vol. III., part iii., p. 19, supplies one. It is to be observed, however, that in the construction there cited (*na-pe-pek-mao-yai*, "did not give"), the verb *pek* has suffixed to it the negative particle *mao*, and that the reduplication alone appears to have no negative force. Other examples seem necessary before the rule of reduplication can be considered to be established. Possibly *loi* and *lai* in Kuki correspond to the separate Mikir negative *ka-li* (see *ante*, p. 86).

It remains to give some examples of correspondence in general vocabulary between Mikir and other Tibeto-Burman languages. It has been shown above from the analysis of the numerals that prefixes play a large part in all these languages. These prefixes, which to some extent are interchangeable, and also differ in the different members of the family, have to be eliminated in order to find the roots which are to be compared. Again, certain changes in vowels and consonants between different languages regularly occur. Our knowledge is not yet sufficient to enable a law of interchange to be formulated; but the following conclusions seem to be justified. In vowels, Mikir has a preference for long *o* where other languages have *-a*, especially in *auslaut*; * on the other hand long *a* in Mikir is sometimes thinned down to *e*; the word *recho*, answering to the Aryan *raja*, is an example of both processes. Long *i* in Mikir often corresponds to *oi* and *ai*, as well as to *e* and *ei*, in the cognates. As regards consonants, nasals at the end of syllables are often rejected; thus within Mikir itself we have *o* and *ong*, *da* and *dam*, *ne* and *neng*, *la* and *lang*. Some languages (as for instance Angami† Naga) tolerate no consonantal endings, not even a nasal. In Mikir itself final *l* has been vocalised into *i* or dropped; and in many Naga and Kuki-Chin dialects (as also in Burmese) final consonants have disappeared or have suffered great changes. As already noticed,

*Southern Chin, as will be seen from the word-lists which follow, agrees in this respect with Mikir against Lushei, Meithei, and other Kuki-Chin languages.

†The only exception in Angami is *r*, in which a few words end.

the surd mutes *k*, *p*, *t* (sometimes aspirated) have taken the place of the original sonants *g*, *b*, *d* to a large extent in Mikir, though *b* and *d* (not *g*) still survive in a fair proportion of words. Boro generally retains the old sonants of Tibetan, and Meithei uses both classes according to the adjacent sounds. The palatals *ch*, *j* of Mikir tend to become sibilants, *s*, *ts*, *z*, in the cognate languages; *j* is also often softened to *y* in Kuki-Chin. *L* and *r* in *anlaut* frequently interchange in Meithei, the interchange depending on the adjacent vowels. These letters also interchange freely in other languages of the family. In Burmese *r* has everywhere been changed to *y*, except in Arakan. *L* and *n* also often interchange. Initial *d* in Mikir seems sometimes to correspond to *l* in other cognates; and it is possible that Mikir initial *s* may occasionally be represented by *h* in the latter, though this is not quite certain. *Th* and *s* often interchange in *anlaut*, some dialects of Kuki-Chin showing the intermediate stage of *θ*, which in Burmese now everywhere replaces original *s*.

Lastly, it should be noticed that Tipura, an outlying member of the Boro group, often exhibits a sound system more closely corresponding to that of the Kuki-Chin languages (which are its neighbours) than Boro, Dimasa, or Garo.

The resemblances in vocabulary between Mikir and the Western Naga dialects are extensive, as will be seen from the list (due to Mr. A. W. Davis) at p. 201, vol. III., part ii., of the *Linguistic Survey*. These need not be repeated here. The following is a list of Boro (Darrang), Dimasa, Garo, and Tipura words which seem to correspond with Mikir. It will be seen, however, by reference to the columns headed Kuki-Chin and Naga (including Naga-Kuki), that in the case of nearly all these words the other two families, as well as Mikir, have the same roots. They therefore belong to the common stock of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam, and do not by themselves prove any close connection of Mikir with Boro.

NOUNS.

English.	Mikir.	Boro family.	Kuki-Chin.	Naga.
nose	nokan	Garó, nukum, nakung Tipura, bukung	Meithei natol (n) Thado nakui Lushei nhar	Tangkhu! natung Angami a-niki E. Naga nakong natong
eye	mek	Boro megan Dimasa mu Garó mik-ren	Meithei } Thado } mit Lushei } Sho (Chin) mik	Ang. mhi, mhiu Tangk. mik Maram mek E. Naga mik, mek
mouth	ing-ho	Boro khu-ga Dimasa khau Garó ho-tom, ku-sik	Lushei ka Khami kha Sho kho	Ang. tha, me-tha Rengma mang- khong
tooth	so	Boro ha-thau Dimasa id.	Andro sho Sengmai shoa Lushei } Thado } ha Sho haw	Ang. ho, hu Sema a-hu
ear	no	Garó na-chil, na-kal	Meithei } Lai } na Sho a-nho	Ang. nu Lhota en-no Maring ka-na
fact	me- hang	Boro makhang Garó mikkang Tipura muk- hang	Meithei mae Lushei hmai	
belly	pok	Dimasa ho Garó ok, pi-puk Tipura bahak	Meithei puk Sho puk Lai paw Thado wai	Ang. va Sema a-pfo Lhota o-pok
father	po	Boro } fa Dimasa } Garó pa, ba Tipura ba	Meithei } Lushei } pa Thado } Sengmai } Khami } po Sho }	Ang. po Sema pa Ao ta-ba Lhota o-po
son	so-po	Boro f'sa Dimasa pasa, sa Garó sa, pi-sa Tipura basa	Meithei } Thado } chapa Khami chopo Sho cho	Lhota o-tsoe Maring cha Hatigoria chapa
daughter	so-pi	Dimasa pu-su	Meithei cha-(anu) pi Khami numpui- cho	
cat	meng, meng- kalu	Garó meng-go Tipura a-ming	Thado meng-cha Rangkhol meng Sho min	
iron	ing- chin	Boro shurr Dimasa sher Garó sil, sar Tipura sir	Andro sen, sel Lushei thir Thado } thi Sho } Khami sing	Ang. the-zhi Yachumi inchi Thukumi ise

ADJECTIVES.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mikir.</i>	<i>Boro family.</i>	<i>Kuki-Chin.</i>	<i>Naga.</i>
big	kethe	<i>Boro</i> gadet		<i>Ang.</i> kedi
small	kibi,	<i>Boro</i> gahai	<i>Meithei</i> a-pisek	
	bi-hek			
bitter	keho	<i>Boro</i> gakha	<i>Lushei</i> kha	
			<i>Meithei</i> a-kha	
			<i>Thado</i> a-kha	
			<i>Lushei</i> shik	
cold	ke-	<i>Boro</i> gazang		
	chung			
beauti-	mesen,	<i>Boro</i> mozang	<i>Lushei</i> moi	
ful	me			

VERBS.

go	dam	<i>Boro</i> } <i>Dimasa</i> } <i>Tipura</i> }	thang	<i>Ang.</i> ta <i>Sopvoma</i> ta-o <i>Maring</i> ta-so
come	vang	<i>Boro</i> } <i>Dimasa</i> } <i>Tipura</i> }	fai	<i>Ang.</i> vor <i>Kwoireng</i> } pa-lo <i>Maram</i> }
eat	cho	<i>Boro</i> za <i>Dimasa</i> ji <i>Garó</i> cha, sa <i>Tipura</i> cha <i>Dimasa</i> shu	<i>Meithei</i> cha-ba <i>Khami</i> cha (<i>Burmese</i> cha, tsa)	<i>Ang.</i> chi <i>Kwoireng</i> tyu-lo <i>Tangkhu</i> ka-shai
beat	chok	<i>Boro</i> thoi <i>Dimadasa</i> ti, thei <i>Garó</i> ti, si, tai <i>Tipura</i> thai	<i>Meithei</i> si-ba <i>Thado</i> thi <i>Lushei</i> ti <i>Khami</i> dei	<i>Tangkhu</i> ka-sho <i>Ang.</i> sa <i>Sema</i> ti <i>Sopvoma</i> thiye <i>Maram</i> tei-lo <i>Tangkhu</i> ka-thi
die	thi			
run	kat	<i>Boro</i> khat <i>Dimasa</i> khai <i>Garó</i> kat	<i>Meithei</i> chatpa (?) (to go) <i>Andro</i> kat-e <i>Tangkhu</i> ka-chat	
say	pu	<i>Boro</i> bung		<i>Aug.</i> pu
do, work	klem	<i>Boro</i> khlam		
think	matha	<i>Boro</i> mithi		
be neces-	nang	<i>Boro</i> nang	<i>Lushei</i> ngai	
sary		<i>Garó</i> nang		

The above list exhibits all the coincidences which could be found on a search through the vocabulary appended to Mr. Endle's Kachari grammar, and it will be seen that the agreement is not extensive.

The words in which Tibeto-Burman languages agree most widely with one another are perhaps those for *water* and *village*; for the former *di*, *ti*, *tui*, *dzu*, *zu*, *ji*, *chi*, and other similar forms.

all apparently identical with the Tibetan *chhu* and the Turki *su*, run through the whole family : for the latter *khul*, *khu*, *ku* (Turki *ku*, *kui*) are similarly widespread. It is somewhat surprising to find in Mikir an exception to the general rule. *Water* is *lang*, and *village* is *rong*. Searching through the tribal vocabularies, Tangkhul Naga (a Naga-Kuki form of speech) appears to have, in *ta-ra*, the corresponding word to *lang* (*r* = *l*, and *ta* a prefix). Nowhere else in the neighbourhood is there a trace of a similar word until we come to Burmese, where *water* is *re* (now pronounced *ye*). Similarly, it appears to be only in Burmese that we have a word for *village*, *rwa*, corresponding to the Mikir *rong*. These coincidences, like others already mentioned, seem to point to the south for the affinities of the Mikir race. At the same time it is to be observed that Mikir appears once to have had, like the Kuki-Chin languages generally, the word *ti* for *water*. This survives in the word for *egg*, *vo-ti*, which must mean "fowl's water," and corresponds in sense to the Boro *dau-dui*, Chutiya *du-ji*, Garo *do-chi*, Shö (Chin) *a-tui*. In Angami and Lushei "fowl" is omitted, and the word for "egg" is merely *dzu*, *tui*, = *water*.*

It would be tedious to enumerate the coincidences in vocabulary which are found between Mikir and all the Kuki-Chin dialects. We have had reason to expect that these coincidences will be found to be most numerous with the Chin languages spoken in the Southern Hill tracts to the west of the Irawadi Valley ; and the following list of similar words will show that this expectation is borne out by the facts. In most cases the forms in Lushei, a leading language of the Central Kuki-Chin group, are added; where they are wanting the Mikir word does not appear to have any corresponding form in the language. †

* This seems to make it improbable that, as suggested on p. 109, *chui* in *var-chui* and *nim-chui* (to throw into water, to drown) is connected with the Tibetan *chhu*.

† The Chin words are taken from Mr. B. Houghton's *Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins and its Affinities* (Rangoon, 1892). In transcribing them *h* has been substituted for 't' to indicate the aspirate, but the spelling has not been otherwise varied. The Lushei words are from Messrs. Lorrain and Savidge's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language (Dulien dialect)* (Shillong, 1898); here too the spelling of the original has been retained.

NOUNS.

English.	Mikir.	Chin (Sho).
male (of man)	pinso	pa-tho (<i>Lushei</i> pasal)
female (of mankind)	pi suffixed	-nu * suffixed (<i>L. nu</i> , and <i>pui</i>)
body	bang	a-pun (<i>L. pang</i>)
corpse	aru	ayo (<i>L. ruang</i>)
face	mehang	hmoi-san (<i>L. hmai</i>)
nose	no-kan	hnut-to (<i>Meithei</i> na-ton, <i>L. hna</i>)
ear	no	a-hno
eye	mek	a-mi, mik (<i>L. mit</i>)
[tear	amek-kri	a-mi-khli]
tongue	de	le (<i>L. lei</i>)
mind, breast, heart	ning	a-mlung (<i>L. lung</i>)
[angry	a-ning-kethi	a-mlung-tho (<i>L. thi-n-lung-sha</i>)]
back	nung	a-hling (<i>L. hnung</i>)
arm	phang	bawn (<i>L. bawn</i>)
foot, leg	keng	khon or kho (<i>L. ke, Burmese khye</i>)
stomach	pok	puk
[stomach-ache	pok-keso	puk-tho]
hair of body	ang-mi	a-hmaw (<i>L. hmul</i>)
bone	re-pi	yo" (<i>Lushei</i> ruh, <i>Angami</i> ru)
tail	ar-me	ho-me (<i>L. mei</i>)
old man, chief	sar, sarpo	hsan, hsan-bo
son	oso, so-po	hso (<i>Burmese</i> sa [0a])
tiger	te-ke	a-kye (<i>L. sa-kei, Burmese kya</i>)
cow	chainong	hsaw-nu (<i>L. se-bawng</i>)
pig	phak	wok, wo (<i>Burmese wak</i>)
squirrel	karle	a-hle (<i>L. the-hlei</i>)
rat	phiju	pha-yu (<i>L. sa-zu</i>)
bird	vo	wu (<i>L. va</i>)
kite	vo-mu	a-hmu (<i>L. mu</i>)
parrot	vo-kek	a-kye (<i>L. va-ki, Burmese kye</i>)
bat	vo-arplak	phalauh
crayfish, prawn	chekung	kye-khon (<i>L. kai-kuang</i>)
scale of fish	lip	lit (<i>L. hlip</i>)
louse	rek	hek (<i>L. hrik</i>)
land-leech	ingphat	a-wot (<i>L. vang-vat</i>)
sun	ar-ni	kho-ni (<i>L. anni, ni</i>)
moon	chi-klo	whlo (<i>L. thla</i>)
night	a-jo	yan (<i>L. zan, jan</i>)
rain	ar-ve	yo-o (<i>L. ruah, Burmese rwa</i>)
fire	me	me (<i>L. mei</i>)
[a flint for striking	me-cheta-long	me-kha-lun (<i>L. mei-lung, fire-</i>)
fire	i.e. fire-spark	spark-stone
	-stone	
smoke	mihi	me-khu (<i>L. mei-khu</i>)
steam	hi	a-hu (<i>L. hu</i>)
stone	ar-long	a-lun (<i>L. lung</i>)
rice	sang	saung

* In Mikir this root is perhaps found in *pi-nu*, mother's sister, *nimso*, a virgin, and *chai-nong*, cow. *Chainong* is now used for both sexes, but the cognate languages point to *chai* (for *chal*) being the original word for the bovine species.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mikir.</i>	<i>Chin (Sho)</i>
vegetables	han	awn (<i>L. an</i>)
house	hem	in (<i>L. in, Burmese im</i>)
wood, tree	theng, thengpi	then (<i>L. thing</i>)
leaf	lo	law (<i>Meithei la, Thado na, L. hna</i>)
fruit	a-the	the (<i>L. thei</i>)
seed	a-the	se
cotton	phelo	'phoi
broom	ar-phék	pha-phe
iron	ingchin	n'thi (<i>L. thir</i>)
arrow	thai	a-thaw (<i>L. thal</i>)
	thai-li	a-li (<i>L. thal-ngul</i>)
boat	te-long	hmlu or hmlu (<i>L. long</i>)
earring	no-thengpi	na-thong
basket	ton	tawng
dream	mang	maung (<i>L. mang</i>)
name	men	a-min (<i>L. hming</i>)
matter, affair	hormu	a-hmu (<i>Burmese id.</i>)
heap	bui	a-pun (<i>L. vung, bum</i>)
place	dim	awn-dun
edge, border	a-pre	a-pe
rope	a-ri	a-yoh (<i>L. hrui</i>)
handle	be	bi (to take, seize), (<i>L. beng</i>)

VERBS.

to pour out	bu, bup	bauk, bo (<i>L. buak,* bun</i>)
to put	bi	bi (to clap, pat)
to jump	chong	dong (<i>L. zuang</i>)
to die	thi	du, di (<i>L. thi</i>)
to kill by cutting	thu	thuk, tuk
to pound	tok	dut
to open	ing-pu	hu
to sleep, lie down	i	i (<i>Burmese ip</i>)
to hinder	khang	kha
to fall	klo, kli	klauk (<i>Burmese kra, L. tla, tlak</i>)
to grind	koi-i	kluk
to be bitter	ho	kho (<i>L. kha</i>)
to bend	kekek	kok-lok, khu-i
to tie, fasten	kok	khum
to laugh	ing-nek	hleik; also noi (<i>Meithei nok, L. nui</i>)
to arrive, hit	le	leng
to be distant	he-lo	hlo (<i>L. hla</i>)
to get, obtain	long	lo-e
to lick	ing-lek	m-le-e (<i>L. liak, hliao</i>)
to be happy	me	moi
to extinguish	pe-mep	hmyit (<i>L. ti-mit</i>)
to smell	ing-nim	nan (<i>L. hnim</i>)
to be yellow	et	oi (<i>L. eng</i>)
to speak	pu	pauh (a word, language)
to give	pi	pek (<i>L. pek, pe</i>)
to be full	pleng	ple

* A final mute italicised in Lushei words indicates that it is formed with the vocal organs, but not pronounced.

English.	Mikir.	Chin (Sho).
to reach, touch	pho	pho (L. pawh, phak)
to pull out	phu	phuk (L. phoi)
to work, labour	sai	saih
to wash	cham	shau (L. shuk)
to beat	chok	sho
to pierce	chang	shun, hsun (L. chhun)
to begin	cheng	si
to explain	than	hsin
to be wet	cham	so
to know, perceive	thek	thak, the
to be fat	ing-tu	thau (L. thao)
to itch	ing-thak	thauk (L. thak)
to rise, get up	thur	tho, thu (L. tho, thawh)
to send	toi	tho
to weave	thak	to-tak (L. tah)
to rot	thu	thu (L. toih)
to be sweet	dok	tu-i
to cover, veil	up, op	un" (L. hup)
to throw	var	wo" (L. vorth)
to hear	ar-ju	yauk
to sell	jor	yi" (L. zuar)

A few words Lushei may be added, for which Southern Chin does not appear to possess corresponding terms:—

English.	Mikir.	Lushei.
buffalo	chelong	cheloi
bear	thok-vam	sa-vom, wom *
deer (<i>sambhar</i>)	thi-jok	sa-zuk
snake	phi-rui	ma-rul, rul
monkey	me-sang	zawng
frog ("the jumper")	chong-ho	chung-u
mosquito	timsik	tho-shi
water-leech	ing-lit	hliit, sai-hlit
crab	chehe	chak-ai
devil	hi-i	huai

These close and numerous correspondences between Mikir and Kuki-Chin family appear to warrant the conclusion that the former is intimately connected with the latter. The institutions of the southern tribes, as already pointed out, confirm this conclusion; and it may be asserted with some confidence that no such extensive affinity can be proved between Mikir and the Boro family. As regards the Western Nagas, while the institutions largely correspond, the coincidences in language, though more numerous than those with Boro, are

* *Sa* in Lushei means *animal*, and we see that the prefix *te-* (in *teke*, tiger), *thi-* (in *thi-jok*, deer), or *thok-* (in *thok-vam*, bear) has the same meaning in Mikir.

much fewer than those with Kuki-Chin. The Southern Nagas, and especially the Tangkhuls, who form the group intermediate between Naga and Kuki, have a considerably closer affinity with Mikir. Possibly if the inquiry were pushed further into Burmese than is within the power of the present writer, more correspondences with Mikir might be discovered in that language.

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1. *A descriptive account of Asam, with a sketch of the local geography, and a concise history of the Tea-plant of Asam, to which is added a short account of the neighbouring tribes, exhibiting their history, manners and customs*, by William Robinson, Gowhatti Government Seminary: Calcutta, 1841. Account of the Mikirs at pp. 308-312.

The facts stated agree generally with those recorded by Mr. Stack. The chief deity of the Mikirs is called *Hempatin*. This may be a mistranscription for *Hemphu*, but is more probably a mistake due to a confusion between Mikirs and Kukis; *Patin* (or a closely similar form) is the word for God in a number of the Kuki dialects (Khongzai, Thado, Lushei, Rangkhoh, Aimol, Kolren, etc.). Of course if the name *Hempatin* was ever actually used by the Mikirs for their chief tribal god, this would be an additional important evidence of a connexion between them and the Kukis.

2. *Notes on the languages of the various tribes inhabiting the Valley of Asam and its mountain confines*, by Wm Robinson, Inspector of Government Schools in Asam. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xviii. (1849).

The Mikir language is treated at pp. 330-336. It is probable from certain indications that the Mikir words were written down for Mr. Robinson in Assamese characters, and transliterated by him into Roman. There are a great many misprints. The declension of nouns, the distinctions of gender, and the position of adjectives are in general correctly explained; but the important prefix *a-* is not noticed, nor its original force understood. The omission of the plural affix *-tum* is remarkable. The numerals agree with those of the present day, save that *ch* is used (as in Assamese) to indicate *s*. The use of determinative class-words with numerals is mentioned. The personal pronouns are in part correctly, but often wrongly

given; the demonstrative pronouns are wrongly stated, and so are the interrogative. The absence of a relative pronoun, and the substitute for it, are noticed. In the verbal forms there are many errors, unless the particles used to indicate time have greatly changed since 1949, which is improbable. Thus, *-ye* is given as the future suffix instead of *-ji*, and *-bo* instead of *po*. The participle in *ke-*, *ki-*, *ka-* is omitted, and the much-used conjunctive participle in *-si* is misrepresented as the present participle. There is no mention of the past in *tang*; *ayok* (possibly a mistranscription of the Assamese) is given instead of *apot* as the particle indicating purpose. The form of the negative verb is altogether misunderstood. There is no mention of the causative in *pe-*, *pi-*, *pa-*.

One interesting point in Mr. Robinson's grammatical sketch is that words borrowed from Assamese, which now end in *-i* as a substitute for Assamese *l*, as *hai* for *hal*, *tamoi* for *tamol*, *pitoi* for *pitol*, are all written with *l*; and in the following cases final *l* appears in Mikir words now written with final *i*:—

ingkol, a score, now *ingkoi*
inghol, to do, now *inghoi*
sal (field-) work, now *sai*
aphel, afterwards, now *aphi*
phurul, snake, now *phirui*

It seems possible that this represents a real change in pronunciation, since *l* was certainly the original ending in the borrowed words, and most probably (from the similar forms in the Kuki-Chin languages) was the original ending in the Mikir words. This vocalization of final *l* is quite common in the Kuki dialects, and is an additional argument for their connexion with Mikir.

3. *Travels and adventures in the Province of Assam*, by Major John Butler: London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1855. The Mikirs are described at pp. 126-139. Major Butler was in charge of the district of Nowgong, and visited the Kikir Hills in 1848. His notes on the Mikir people are not very detailed, but indicate that their condition sixty years ago was much the same as it is now. On the question of polygamy (see *ante*, p. 19), he writes (p. 138): "Polygamy is not practised, and they reproach their countrymen of the plains for having adopted the Assamese custom."

4. *Notes on Northern Cachar*, by Lieut. R. Stewart. J.A.S.B., vol. xxiv. (1855), pp. 582-701. This treatise is an excellent account of the various tribes inhabiting the tract. The Mikirs are dealt with at pp. 604-607. There is a full and useful comparative vocabulary at pp. 658-675 of more than 400 words, besides verbal and adverbial forms, in Manipuri, Hill Kachari (Dimasa), New Kuki (Thado), Angami Naga, Arung Naga (or Empeo), Old Kuki (Bete), and Mikir. This is much the most important evidence of the state of the language half a century ago, and is superior in several respects to the materials collected a little earlier by Robinson (to which Stewart does not refer). The Mikir words are generally recognisable as identical with those of the present day, and it is noticeable, with reference to the change of final *l* to *i*, that Stewart gives the forms now in use (*pitoi*, brass, *pheroi*, snake, *ingkoi*, a score *in(g)hoi*, to do). The verbs are chiefly given in the imperative, with *non* (often wrongly printed *not*), sometimes as the bare root, and sometimes with *-lo* added. There are some good measurements and other physical characters of Mikirs at pp. 690-693, from which it appears that in Lieut. Stewart's time most of the Mikir men shaved their heads, with the exception of a large tuft of hair on the scalp.

5. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, by Col. E. T. Dalton: Calcutta, 1872. There is a brief section on the Mikirs at pp 53-4, which however contains no information that is not in Robinson or Stewart. The race is not among those figured in the volume.

6. *Specimens of the Languages of India*, collected by Sir George Campbell: Calcutta, 1874. The specimens of Mikir are at pp. 205-217; they are full of misprints and misunderstandings of what was desired, and are worthless for linguistic purposes.

7. *A Vocabulary in English and Mikir, with sentences illustrating the use of words*, by the Rev. R. E. Neighbor, of Nowgong, Assam: Calcutta, 1878.

A most useful publication.

8. *Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers*, by G. H. Damant. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xii., 1880, pp. 228 ff.

A posthumous work (Mr. Damant was killed in the Naga Hills in 1879). The Mikirs are mentioned on p. 236, and there is a short vocabulary on p. 254.

-9. *A Statistical Account of Assam*, compiled by J. S. Cotton under the direction of W. W. Hunter: London, 1879. Contains an article on the Mikirs at vol. ii., pp. 188-190.

10. *A Gazetteer of India*, by Sir W. W. Hunter, London. First edition 1881, second edition 1886. Article on the Mikir Hills and their inhabitants.

11 to 13. The next occasions on which the tribe was dealt with were in the Reports of the Censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901 (Assam Province);—

11. *The Report on the Census of 1881* (Calcutta, 1883) contains a chapter (VI.) on *Costes and Tribes*, written by Mr. Stack. The Mikirs are described at pp. 77-82. The inquiries on which these paragraphs were based were followed by the more detailed investigations which afforded the materials for the present monograph.

12. *The Report on the Census of 1891*, by Mr. E. A. Gait, reproduces part of the matter of the previous report relating to the Mikirs, and adds the detailed list of *kurs* or exogamous divisions already referred to (*ante*, pp. 23 ff.). It also contains an interesting comparison of the Mikir language with those of the Naga tribes, by Mr. A. W. Davis (reproduced in the *Linguistic Survey*, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 198-202). At pp. 254-256 there is an account of the Mikirs in North Cachar by Mr. E. E. Baker, sub-divisional officer, which states that their principal deity is called "Pertart Rijie." This is correctly *Pirthat Recho*, the first word being the Khasi *Pyrthat*, "thunder," and indicates a borrowing by the small remaining Mikir population in North Cachar of the ideas of their Khasi neighbours.

13. *The Report on the Census of 1901*, by Mr. B. C. Allen: Shillong, 1902. A few remarks on the religion of the Mikirs will be found at pp. 46-47, which however require correction by the more accurate data contained in this monograph.

14. *The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley*, by Lt.-Col. L. A. Waddell, I.M.S.: J.A.S.B., vol. lxi., part iii., 1900. This account is chiefly based on anthropometrical data. The facts stated concerning the Arlengs at pp. 29-35 appear to be taken

from Dalton and the Assam Census Reports of 1881 and 1891. The measurements taken by Col. Waddell (see *ante*, p. 4) are at pp. 78-79. The tribe is not figured in the plates appended to the paper.

15. *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii., part ii., compiled and edited by Dr. G. A. Grierson, Calcutta, 1902. The Mikir language is dealt with at pp. 380-410 and 432-448.

16. *An English-Mikir Vocabulary, with Assamese Equivalents, to which have been added a few Mikir phrases*, by S[ardoka] P[errin] Kay: Shillong, Govt. Press, 1904. An extremely useful book by an educated Mikir (see Introductory Note, p. viii.). Sardoka was Mr. Stack's chief authority on the Mikir language. The phrases (388 in number) are very important illustrations of the structure of the speech. The vocabulary is an enlargement of Mr. Neighbor's work (No. 7).

A Mikir-English dictionary or vocabulary is still a desideratum.

The following is a list of all the publications in the Mikir language which have come under the notice of the writer. They are all due to missionaries.

1. *Dhorom Arnam aphrang ikithan*: First Catechism, in Mikir (Assamese character), pp. 13. Anon. Sibsagar, 1875.

2. *Arleng Alam*, a Mikir Primer, by Miss E. Pursell, 1891

3. *Arleng Alam (Plipli-akitap)** A Mikir Primer. Anon. Published by the American Baptist Mission, Tika, Nowgong, Assam, 1903.

4. *Arleng Alam, Angbong akitap*. Mikir Reader, second book, by the Rev. J. M. Carvell and Thengkur Pandit. Published by the Government of Assam, Shillong, 1904.

5. *Arleng kalakha akitap*. Mikir Primary Arithmetic, by the Rev. P. E. Moore and the Rev. J. M. Carvell. Published by the Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong, 1904.

6. *Birta Keme*, "Glad Tidings," in Mikir, by Mosendra Pandit and Missionaries to the Mikirs. Published by the American Baptist Missionary Union, Tika, Assam, 1904. A summary of the Gospel history and teaching.

(All except the first are in the Roman character.).

* So called from the figure of a butterfly (*pli-pli*) on the cover.

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